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ABSTRACT

This report reviews the manner in which police handle citizen requests for social services. The focus is on how officers make their decisions--whether they handle such requests themselves, direct them elsewhere in the department, or refer citizens to other agencies. In their assessment of the literature on referral practices, the authors point out the major hypotheses that recur, and the data that supports or contradicts those theories. Their evaluation of the literature highlights several key issues: the clarity and consistency of definitions of police referral, the lack of theoretical constructs and empirical data, and the inadequacy of evaluative criteria. In addition to tracing the history of the police role in providing social services or referring citizens to appropriate agencies, the report also offers suggestions for future research in this area. Also included are abstracts of 80 articles on the subject of referral practices, and a 32-page bibliography. (Author)

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# Case Disposition: An Assessment of Literature on Police Referral Practices

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January 1979
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# ABSTRACT

This report reviews the manner in which police handle citizen requests for social services. The focus is on the officer's decision: whether he handles such a request himself, directs it elsewhere in the department, or refers the citizen to another agency. In their assessment of the literature on referral practices, the authors point out the major hypotheses that recur, and the data that supports or contradicts those theories. Their evaluation of the literature highlights several key issues: the clarity and consistency of definitions of police referral, the lack of theoretical constructs and empirical data, and the inadequacy of evaluative criteria.

In addition to tracing the history of the police role in providing social services or referring citizens to appropriate agencies, the report also offers suggestions for future research in this area.

Also included are abstracts of some 80 articles on the subject of referral practices, and a 32-page bibliography.

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# CHAPTER 1

# POLICE REFERRAL AND SOCIAL SERVICE PROVISION

## Statement of the Problem

Noncriminal services often make up a larger part of a police department's work load than do law enforcement services. The manner in which police deliver noncriminal services may influence their effectiveness in performing crime-related tasks. Police administrators and interested observers have begun to examine the different ways in which police agencies organize the provision of noncriminal services. Projects and publications either directly or peripherally related to police service delivery have proliferated at an astounding rate. One publication notes that the number of reported criminal justice diversion programs increased from 57 projects in 1974 to 148 in 1976 (ABA, 1976). Federal and state funds expended to improve police capability to deliver noncriminal services and police relations with community service agencies have risen to millions of dollars annually.

To dispose of the increasing volume of diverse social service cases they must handle, police employ a number of alternatives. They may warn, counsel and release, mediate, refer citizens to other police or nonpolice agencies, or adopt some other procedure -- often improvised -- that is assumed to be as effective (if not more so) as formal processing. This paper reviews and assesses literature about one form of case disposition: police referral. Regardless of whether police departments actually provide social services, they are usually involved in the initial receipt, screening, and disposition of calls for a wide variety of these services. Police and fire departments and utility companies are among the few agencies with 24-hour emergency response capability. Citizens in need of assistance can be certain that whether or not the police will actually respond to their call, the police will at least be willing to listen to their complaints.

This assessment examines both theoretical and descriptive literature. It concentrates on literature about the officer's decision to handle a request for social services himself, to direct it to a specialized unit within the department, or to refer it to a community agency. Its focus on police referral systems eliminates direct consideration of the vast literature on the underlying causes and modes of treatment of social pathologies, on court- and community-sponsored social service programs, and on police operations in general. This chapter poses problems and issues to be addressed and defines police referral. Chapter 2 presents a brief historical overview of the police role in social service provision and referral. Chapter 3 identifies and describes several key issues in police social service delivery. It identifies recurring hypotheses and assesses data supporting or contradicting each one. Chapter 4 evaluates police referral literature and discusses implications for future research.

## Noncriminal Demands on Police Agencies

Local police agencies answer a high volume of calls for service that do not involve an immediate law enforcement problem. Nevertheless, many of these calls require police attention -- either immediate or deferred -- to alleviate a threat to individual or community safety and security. How these calls are handled affects citizen evaluations of their police. Police are highly visible and usually continuously available, while community agencies that also provide noncriminal social services are often unknown, unavailable, or unacceptable to the public. Responsibility for initially handling most of these calls therefore rests with the police.

Several recent studies have demonstrated that a high percentage of police officers' time is spent handling noncriminal matters. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice noted that a great majority of the situations in which police officers intervene are noncriminal, yet could involve ordinance violations, breaches of public order, or serious crimes (President's Commission, 1967a: 91). In a 54-week study of the patrol and traffic divisions of a large police department Webster found that 17 percent of all officer assignments directly involved social services; they consumed 14 percent of officers' on-duty time. Excluding administrative duties, the percentage of social service assignments rose to 28 percent (Webster, 1973: 13).

Other studies have found even larger proportions of officers' time spent delivering social services. Bercal reported that 49 percent of all assigned police runs in St. Louis and Detroit were social service related (Bercal, 1970: 685); Reiss found that nearly 54 percent of the Chicago Police Department's telephone communications involved social services (Reiss, 1971: 71). Parnas classified about 80 percent of all calls for police services as noncriminal; one third of these were considered disturbances -- family conflict, teenage disturbances, party noise, etc. (Parnas, 1967: 914).

Cumming, Cumming, and Edell reported that more than half the calls to police involved requests for help in personal and interpersonal matters unrelated to crime (Cumming, Cumming, and Edell, 1965: 279). Based on a one fifth sample of a week's calls, Wilson noted that nearly 38 percent of citizen requests received by the Syracuse Police Department fell into the service category -- ambulance calls, drunk arrests, hazardous conditions, missing persons and property, or citizen assists. Another 9 percent were classified as family or neighbor trouble, while only 10 percent were included in his narrowly defined law enforcement category (Wilson, 1968a: 18).

Kowalewski cited a sharp increase in citizen expectations concerning police services and suggested that up to 70 percent of police calls involved noncriminal matters (Kowalewski, 1975: 259). A study of patrol operations in Kansas City reported that only 21 percent of patrol officers' time was spent on criminal calls (Pate, Kelling, and Brown, 1975: 306). Data from the Rochester Police Department showed that 37 percent of calls received during a 9-month period involved order maintenance or disturbance calls. Each officer spent an average of 23 minutes per disturbance call (Rochester Police Department, 1974: 2).

A problem common to all of these studies is the difficulty in defining "noncriminal services"; it means different things to different observers. Goldstein notes that police must deal with a full range of noncriminal situations, and challenges several recent studies claiming to draw a clear distinction between criminal and noncriminal incidents. He points out that many calls, such as those involving domestic disputes, may begin as noncriminal matters and escalate into serious incidents leading to criminal charges being filed. Several incidents (e.g., those involving drunks, runaway children, or family disputes), may be classified by police as noncriminal, yet may technically constitute violations of local ordinances, if not state or federal laws. How incidents are classified by police obviously affects the percentage of their time spent on noncriminal calls for service. (For a discussion of the consequences of crime classification, see Goldstein, 1977: 29-31.)

What police services are usually classified as noncriminal? Most studies discuss a range of activities including handling traffic control and accidents; picking up stray animals; taking reports; notifying other municipal departments of hazards and service defects; administering systems of vehicle registration, licensing, and parking; and providing social services. Social services encompass a set of activities that may or may not involve criminal matters, but that contribute in some manner to citizens' safety and welfare. Police often have primary responsibility for handling landlord-tenant disputes, satisfying persons worried about a family member's drinking problem or tendencies toward delinquency, responding to persons threatening suicide, answering complaints about noisy gatherings, dealing with public inebriates, intervening in family disputes, comforting and assisting victims of crime, providing emergency medical and ambulance services, and shepherding citizens unable to care for themselves.

Because of conditions of social disorganization affecting citizens, such as poverty, lack of education, or unemployment, police officers are often required to serve as surrogate parents, social workers, physicians, psychologists, lawyers, and confidants. In playing these roles, police become intimately involved in citizens' lives. They often provide initial care for persons unable to care for themselves -- the elderly, the handicapped, the very young, the addicted, the inebriated, or the emotionally disturbed. While situations in which police perform service activities may be initially unrelated to crime, they have the potential to escalate; they demand the attention of someone with special equipment, training or skills. The impact of police social service provision on individual safety and security is considerable, and it may have just as significant an impact on officers' time and agency resource allocation.

The police are not, however, the only organization capable of providing social services. In many communities nonpolice social service agencies are equipped to deal directly and immediately with some of the same problems facing police. Court-sponsored agencies; probation departments; public agencies such as hospitals, welfare departments, youth service bureaus, professional counseling centers, detoxification units, and foster homes; and private agencies such as the Salvation Army, YMCA, crisis hotlines, and mental health clinics are examples. In some communities, directories of agencies providing social services are issued. Rochester-Monroe County, New York, for example -- an area of 711,917 people in 1970 -- contained 186 agencies providing assistance to juveniles in 1974 (Council of Jewish Women, 1974).

Despite their mutual concern with social problems, police and community agencies often develop relationships characterized by mistrust, lack of cooperation or coordination, and blurring of responsibilities. Police officers and administrators frequently complain that community service agencies are: (1) chronically understaffed and unable to handle many cases that would otherwise fall within their purview; (2) unavailable after 5 pm and on weekends, leaving police as the only available source of 24-hour services; and (3) often ineffective in their treatment, meaning that police are continually confronted with large numbers of recidivists.

Agency administrators, on the other hand, are quick to point out that police are: (1) often ill-trained to cope with many problems they encounter; (2) too quick to enforce laws against what they consider socially unacceptable behavior, but too hesitant to invoke their discretionary authority in seeking treatment, not arrest, for violators; and (3) biased against groups most often in need of, and least able to obtain, counseling and treatment (e.g., the poor, minorities, and persons with prior records).

Are the charges and counter-charges founded in fact? What are the characteristics of police-community agency relations? Do community agencies complement, supplement, or duplicate police efforts in social service delivery? Should police be involved in what is largely a noncriminal endeavor? The high volume of service requests and the belief that it prevents officers from engaging in "real police work," or worse, causes irreparable harm to affected citizens because of improper training, has led some critics to argue that police should be relieved of responsibility for social service provision. Wilson suggested establishing private agencies to handle these responsibilities; he noted that social services could be priced and sold on the market. Historical accident and community convenience allegedly lead to police involvement and ultimately to the imposition of external costs on both affected individuals and society in general (Wilson, 1968b: 5).

Legal experts have disagreed about the role of police discretion in handling social service cases. Some have objected to the prospect of unbridled discretion (Goldstein, 1960; Kadish, 1962; Davis, 1969). Others have suggested that more discretion is required (Abernathy, 1962; LaFave, 1962; Parnas, 1971; Thomas and Sieverdes, 1975). Prosecutors have argued that the proper police officer role is not that of a social worker, but of a government agent whose job is to hold citizens accountable for their actions (Clark, 1976). Police administration textbooks have focused on law enforcement and crime prevention aspects of police performance to the virtual exclusion of social service delivery (Fuld, 1909; Fosdick, 1921; see Kuykendall and Unsinger, 1975: 20, for a tabular description).

In contrast to advocates of a reduced police role in social service delivery, some observers favor maintenance or expansion of that role. (See Bard, 1970b, 1971b, 1975; and Treger, 1972a, 1972b, 1976a, 1976b, among others.) They often note that having an emergency response force with capabilities comparable to, but separate from, the police would not be cost effective. Many situations brought to police attention may be classifiable as "social" or "criminal" incidents only after initial police response and preliminary investigation. Calls for service related to domestic disturbances, juvenile gangs, or noisy neighbors may be impossible to classify without on-scene police presence.

An additional benefit of social service delivery, some suggest, is an enhanced self-image created by officers helping needy citizens (Asch, 1967; President's Commission, 1967a; Terris, 1967). Unsatisfactory police officer response to citizen victimizations is strongly associated with lower victim evaluation of police (Parks, 1976); similar relationships hold for other police-citizen encounters, including citizen requests for police assistance in social service situations (Parks, 1978, forthcoming).

## What is Police Referral?

The police employ a number of alternatives to dispose of the large volume of diverse social service cases they must handle. Warning, counsel and release, mediation, referral, or some improvised procedure are commonly used alternatives to formal processing. Mentally ill persons, for example, are often processed under special statutes that avoid court petition. Public inebriates according to the laws of many states cannot be arrested and must be taken to detoxification centers or to their homes. Police may turn juvenile offenders over to special youth aid bureaus within the department that may either dispose of the case through informal means or process it through juvenile court. Because it is infrequently recognized that police have tremendous discretion in choosing among alternate forms of disposition, the choice is usually left to the individual officer, often with minimal guidance from superiors and minus the constraints of formal review (Goldstein, 1977: 39).

Given that police discretionary power in handling social service calls is considerable and that officers' decisions have a major impact upon the lives of the individuals involved, it is important to recognize and categorize various police methods for dealing with citizen calls for social services. One of the most frequently used, widest ranging, yet least understood means of disposition is police referral.

Although frequently mentioned in the literature on social service calls, rarely is police referral explicitly defined. The concept of referral is often used interchangeably with diversion, a term whose popularity among police, community, and funding agencies has skyrocketed since the appearance of the President's Commission Report in 1967. It is usually assumed to be the first step in offender rehabilitation. Diversion is often used to describe the process whereby cases are removed from the criminal justice system after first being admitted to that system. This is quite different from referral, which is often used to describe disposition prior to involving the criminal justice system. This distinction is by no means uniform, however.

Diversion has carried several different meanings, appearing most often in reference to disposition of juvenile officers. The President's Commission noted that diversion was a process of referring youth to an existing community treatment program in lieu of further juvenile justice processing at any point between apprehension and adjudication (President's Commission, 1967a). Diversion is the decision not to take legal action; it is loosely used to mean programs of alternatives to the criminal justice system (National Association of Counties Research Foundation, 1976). For many, diversion applies only to juveniles; diversion activities are "designed to suspend or terminate juvenile justice processing of youth in favor of release or referral to alternate services" (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1977: 141). Haggard sees diversion as a means of noncriminal processing for select offenders. Its goal is to provide social control through rehabilitation by substituting human services for punitive services. Diversion represents a change from a legal model of police behavior (or a full enforcement model) to a therapeutic medical model (Haggard, 1976).

Perhaps the dominant view is expressed by Cressey and McDermott -- that diversion is any action that keeps an offender from going through the courtroom door. An example of true diversion is a public official unofficially directing an offender to individuals or agencies capable of handling his problem by means other than those offered by the criminal justice system (Cressey-McDermott, 1973; see also Schur, 1973). Another view is that diversion is simply a means of informal processing. For Kenney and Pursuit:

> Diversion is the process which provides an alternative disposition to entry into the juvenile or criminal justice system . . . [It] is an exercise in discretionary authority to substitute an informal disposition prior to a formal hearing on an alleged violation (Kenney and Pursuit, 1975: 199).

Rutherford and McDermott argue that diversion "involves a cessation (at least temporarily) of formal processing in favor of informal disposition" (Rutherford and McDermott, 1976: 27).

Nejelski views diversion as the channeling of cases to noncourt institutions in instances where a case would ordinarily have received a court hearing (Nejelski, 1976: 396-397). Pitchess (1974) sees diversion as being either preventive or correctional, while referral is a process whereby clients may be routed through special police bureaus to outside community social service agencies. Sundeen argues that diversion "is the return of the offender by the police to the community (the family or a referral agency) rather than referral to an offical sanctioning agency, such as the probation department and juvenile court"; again, referral is a directed form of diversion, but here it means direction into the criminal justice system (Sundeen, 1974a: 333). Some authors consider police referral to be the direction of offenders to court intake personnel (Cohen, 1975a, Cohen, 1975c; Mann, 1976).

A large segment of literature concentrates solely on court diversion, which occurs only after an offender has been detained by police. Referral applies mainly to court-initiated actions carried out by an "in-house" social service agency -- usually the juvenile court -- as a normal continuation of the judicial process (Eldefonso, 1967; Gibbons, 1970; King County, 1976). The court acts as a diverting agent, invoking formalized screening and placement criteria. It creates a structured plan for delivery of services such as job placement and assistance, counseling, and remedial education in which the potential result is dismissal of criminal charges and expungement or sealing of arrest records of successful participants (ABA, 1976). Few diversion programs of this nature are directed by police; only 1 of the 148 listed in 1976 by the American Bar Association was police operated (ABA, 1976). Many are directed by probation departments (Baron and Feeney, 1976).

Klapmuts (1974) argued that pretrial diversion consisted of three distinct categories: community absorption, police diversion, and court-based diversion. Police family crisis intervention programs and referral of alcoholics were examples of police diversion. Klapmuts concluded that definition of diversion remains nebulous because of the wide range of programs included within the concept.

In soliciting bids for research on juvenile diversion the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration's Program Announcement: Diversion of Youth from the Juvenile Justice System (1976), lists several different definitions of the term and shows how they have become intertwined with those of referral.

The LEAA solicitation states that diversion can occur at any point between apprehension and adjudication, and must limit penetration of youth into the juvenile justice system. LEAA removed the term referral from its definition of diversion, but many other observers have used the two terms interchangeably, some even discussing the "referral-diversion decision." Few have attempted to distinguish between referral and diversion. Klein is an exception, defining diversion as:

> any process employed by components of the criminal justice system (police, prosecution, courts, correction) to turn suspects and/or offenders away from the formal system or to a "lower" level of the system (Klein, 1973: 376).

He considers referral:

> any process by which a diverting agency initiates the connection of the diverted suspect or offender to another agency or agencies, usually within the offender's community. Thus referral goes beyond the most common police diversion practice of "station adjustment," "warning," or "counsel and release," in which the [offender] is referred without further significant action. A police officer who refers [an offender] takes active steps to attach that [offender] to someone else for preventive, rehabilitative, or reintegrative purposes (Klein, 1973: 376).

Klein's distinction is clearly that referral is a means of diversion. Diversion turns offenders away from the normal arrest-to-trial flow of the criminal justice system, thereby reducing the impact on the individual, while referral implies an effort to direct or attach the individual to a different system agent. Wilbanks agrees, arguing that diversion involves informal case disposition at the police level, while police referral means sending an individual to an outside agency for treatment or counseling instead of processing him through the criminal justice system (Wilbanks, 1975).

Kuykendall and Unsinger differentiate referral from diversion on the basis of the location of case handling (either inside or outside the criminal justice system):

> Referral is turning over individual problems to community agencies outside the criminal justice system. A referral to a family counseling center might be an alternative for a family disturbance after mediation has taken place. Diversion is providing an alternative to entry into the criminal justice system; it is most common to juvenile and drug cases (Kuykendall and Unsinger, 1975: 28).

Yet Long suggests a more limited definition; while

> referral may be thought of as including concepts such as "direction" or "steering" to agencies, the term is limited to the process of actually making an appointment for an inquirer with a person in the service agency (Long, 1973: 54).

Referral can be conceptualized several different ways; definitions in the literature clearly do not encompass all possible referral activities. In this review police referral is defined as the act of directing certain citizens (i.e., suspects, offenders, persons in need), to either specialized units of the police department or to community resources outside the police department for more appropriate case handling. Community resources are agencies or individuals that provide social services.

Our definition attempts to remedy previous shortcomings and sharpen the focus of the review. It incorporates aspects of several definitions found in the literature. It includes all citizens coming in contact with police, not just offenders. Referral activities include providing callers with information about agencies that can handle their requests when police cannot or will not handle them. Our definition permits examination of how police handle noncriminal calls for service. It includes referral of crime victims; victim assistance programs have been established in several metropolitan police departments and receive referrals directly from patrol officers. (See Dussich, 1977 for an inventory of victim assistance programs.) Referral activities also include sending juveniles in need of supervision, but not requiring incarceration, to helping agencies. Our definition permits examination of literature on operations of specialized police units that provide social services; most definitions of referral have ignored the role of internal police units, such as juvenile aid bureaus and family crisis intervention teams.

As defined here, referral applies only to police actions; referral by juvenile court, for example, is excluded. But a police telephone operator switching a citizen's call to an internal office or unit *would* be a referral if that office or unit either provided social services directly, or otherwise handled service calls. Similarly, an operator directing a caller to another public or private agency for action on a service matter not warranting police intervention (such as a dead animal, housing code violation, or polluted stream), *would* be a referral. A call for information that was answered by the operator would *not* be a referral unless it was a question about social services or their provision. The answer to the question, "How do I get to City Hall?", for example, would *not* be a referral. But the answer to, "What is the number of the Juvenile Aid Bureau?", or "Would you connect me with the family crisis intervention team office?", *would* be a referral.

Similarly, an officer providing social service information in the field constitutes a referral, as does an officer connecting a citizen directly with an internal social service unit. An incident in which a juvenile was apprehended by police for curfew violation and released to the custody of his parents would not be a referral, however, since parents are not defined as a community service resource. Literature about referral is included in this review only if it involves social services.

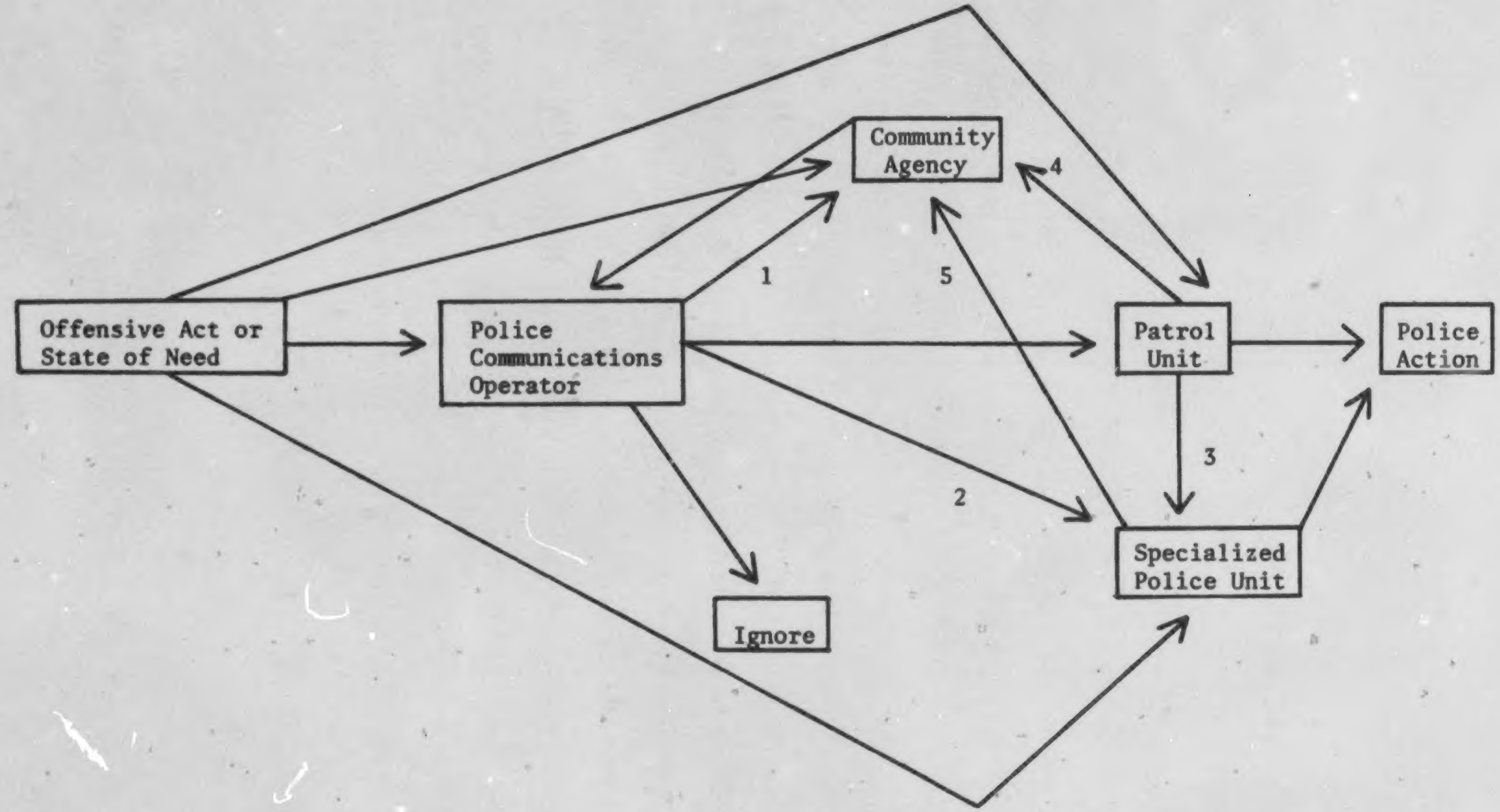
In Figure 1 we present a police referral decision chart; each numbered path represents a specific referral decision. Referrals can be made within a police department as well as to external agencies. Of the five numbered referral decisions in Figure 1, the second and third can be classified as internal referrals, in which one branch of the police department refers a case to another branch better equipped to handle it.

Figure 1 does not represent the entire police referral process, but is confined to the initial decision to refer. Police referrals are usually made by the departmental telephone operator (or dispatcher), a patrol officer, or a member of a specialized unit. Figure 1 focuses on police actions once a crime has been committed, a citizen has requested service, or a state of need has been brought to police attention. Obviously, crimes are committed and needs arise that are never reported to police. Such events could go unobserved, be handled directly by social service agencies, go unreported, be referred among agencies, or be handled in any number of other ways, none of which involve police referral.

Figure 1 highlights the importance of police telephone operators in the referral process. Operators can connect citizens directly with

Figure 1

Police Referral Decision Chart


Community Agency
4
1
5
Offensive Act or State of Need
Police Communications Operator
Patrol Unit
Police Action
3
2
Specialized Police Unit
Ignore

community agencies. Most literature discusses only patrol officers' actions, but Figure 1 indicates that without operator action only, officer on-view events could lead to referral. If an operator ignores a citizen's call, no referral takes place.

Community agencies may act as both initiator and recipient of police referrals. Cases of child abuse, for example, are often detected by agency caseworkers before being brought to police attention. Police action may involve any number of alternatives, including ignoring the situation, adjusting matters in the field, detaining a suspect or offender, or deferring action until certain conditions are met. To follow the chart to the point of impact on the referred citizen would necessitate at least two additional decision trees, one originating from the community agency box, the other replacing the police action box; both are beyond our scope of inquiry -- the initial referral option.

The referral process contains several characteristics rarely noted in literature. We have already mentioned the distinction between internal and external referral. Referral may also be formal or informal, according to police agency policy. Informal referrals are handled on the spot, usually by patrol officers constrained by few departmental guidelines. They usually involve only information provision and require little or no police follow-up. Formal referrals are dictated by departmental policy or by written agreement between police and community social service agencies. They involve filing written reports and may represent official transfer of jurisdiction from police to other agencies.

Referral may be proactive as well as reactive. A proactive referral is one in which police attempt to take preventive measures to stop crime or alleviate an unsatisfactory condition. Examples are the National Sheriff's Association's Neighborhood Watch or Operation Identification programs. Police actively solicit individuals and groups to distribute information on methods of reducing or preventing residential burglaries. It is proactive because police seek citizen assistance; it is referral because citizens are advised to either take specific actions or to seek help from nonpolice sources.

Referrals may also be voluntary or coercive. In Bard's conception referral is a process that enables citizens to obtain assistance once they have recognized their problems (Bard, 1975). This dimension is difficult to pinpoint since many "voluntary" referrals can actually be coercive. If an officer offers a citizen the choice between being cited for a violation or enrolling in a community agency-sponsored remedial program, the citizen may feel coerced into choosing the latter to avoid possible arrest and prosecution. Whether the effectiveness of police referral depends on coercion is a matter of speculation.

## Why Referral?

Referral programs have developed from attempts to cope with the increasing array of tasks that police are expected to perform. Traditional methods of case handling and disposition have proven inadequate. Referral procedures have evolved from: informal officer activity in the field; a sense that officers lack the equipment and training to handle a wide range of cases; a desire to hold police accountable for actions that have occurred sub rosa for years; a spate of laws decriminalizing certain forms of public behavior; development of "enlightened" police administrators; public pressure, especially from minority groups; and a growing disenchantment with results of other governmental social service programs. Referral practices have been informally employed by officers for years, long before development of departmental guidelines and availability of information manuals helped make referral an acceptable alternative. Only recently has referral been considered an important and necessary police procedure.

Several basic hypotheses underlie the development of police referral systems; these are discussed and evaluated in detail in Chapters 3 and 4. Police referral is often designed to keep cases out of the crowded and overburdened criminal justice system, thereby increasing the efficiency of case disposition. It is supposed to reduce the impact of the justice system on offenders, increasing their chances for rehabilitation. It purportedly frees police officers for handling criminal matters by reducing the amount of time spent processing calls for social services. And it presumably helps citizens identify and contact proper treatment facilities much faster than they would if processed through traditional channels.

## Key Areas of Police Referral

For nearly every social service provided by police, a referral program has been developed. While police referral projects cut across various issues, however, most referral literature concentrates on juveniles, public inebriates, and family conflict situations. Little has been written about police referral of drug addicts, since this task normally falls to the courts. (See Kadish, 1974-75; Pomeroy, 1974.) Literature on police interaction with the elderly, while growing, is still scarce. Literature on police referral of crime victims, another area of growing interest and police involvement, is also scant (Holmes and Steinbach, 1976; Croft and Thomas, 1975), and mostly program specific, dealing with victim/witness assistance projects.

Police referral is discussed most often in literature on juvenile diversion from the criminal justice system. Referral alternatives open to police in this area are innumerable. Police programs to provide direct assistance to juvenile offenders have long showcased the need for services of counselors, psychologists, and other specialists. The absence of these resources from most departments and the attendant criticism of police handling of juveniles have been major sources of recent interest in police referral systems. (For a discussion of several police referral programs, see Vorenberg and Vorenberg, 1973; ABA, 1976; Gibbons and Blake, 1976; Klein, 1976.)

A second area of police social service referral involves handling of public inebriates. Numerous states have passed laws decriminalizing public drunkenness, but decriminalization may or may not invoke police referral responses. Even under decriminalization, police must still become involved in initial handling of drunks in need of care. In fact, it is likely that decriminalization in no way reduces the number of contacts police have with drunks; it simply alters what they can do about public intoxication. In some jurisdictions police may process more drunks under the alternative system than under the old criminal law:

> It is misleading to suggest that a detoxification program or a civilian rescue team will eliminate the need for police involvement. Police must continue to deal with the often related and sometimes independent problems stemming from a high incidence of violence; from lack of food and shelter; from injuries and illness; and from the nuisance created for permanent residents, business establishments, and passers-by (Goldstein, 1977: 80-81).

Care is sometimes provided by police (in the form of drunk tanks), sometimes by detoxification centers, hospitals, or sobering-up stations. Police often have the option of transporting drunks to any of these facilities, to their homes, or simply leaving them alone. (For discussions of some noteworthy detoxification projects and of the police role in handling drunks, see Nimmer, 1971; Pittman, 1975; Vorenberg and Vorenberg, 1973; Ottenberg and Carpey, 1974; Owens, 1973; for an overview of the problems faced by police, see Goldstein, 1977: 79-82; for a review of important court decisions relating to alcoholism and public drunkenness, see Mathews, 1970; Truax, 1972; and Haggard, 1976.)

We will also concentrate on a third area of police social service referral: the domestic disturbance. While many police officers view handling both the public inebriate and the quarreling family as relatively unimportant compared to their crime-fighting functions, the volume of calls for service for these cases merits attention. Most family crisis intervention projects afford officers the options of handling the problem themselves through mediation or making selective referrals to social agencies. Bard's pioneering effort in New York City has been cited often and has been the impetus for family crisis intervention projects initiated in many police agencies (Bard, 1970a; 1970b).

By concentrating on these three areas and general material about police referral systems, we plan to review and assess the relevant literature. We hope our review will stand not only as an assessment of current conventional wisdom on police referral, but will prove useful in future efforts to categorize and conceptualize one of the most important and frequently used, but least recognized methods of police case disposition.

# CHAPTER 2

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE POLICE ROLE IN SOCIAL SERVICE DELIVERY

The nature of the urban police function and the police officer's proper role has long been a subject of controversy. Many problems of police organization and management have been attributed to the broad range of tasks that officers must perform. Some studies have suggested that police be divested of certain duties on the assumption that those duties are peripheral to the primary police role of preventing and fighting crime. Others have urged a clearer definition of police responsibilities; the American Bar Association, for example, devoted an entire volume to standardization and definition of the urban police function (ABA, 1972).

Whether the result of increased social awareness by police officers and administrators, the influx of federal dollars for social programs, or some natural evolutionary process, the officer's role as social service provider seems to be widening. Many scholars, administrators, officers, and citizens feel police are taking a more humanistic approach, retreating from the traditional legalistic model in which police primarily fight crime and arrest law breakers. The new approach:

> directly challenges the stereotype of the police function firmly established in the minds of both the police and the public as consisting primarily of preventing crime and apprehending criminals. This is the image that has been cultivated by the police themselves. It is the image that has been reinforced by most of the popular literature, television serials, and motion pictures of the police. And it is the image that has had a pervasive influence upon the organization, staffing, and operation of police agencies (Goldstein, 1977: 25).

The apparent increase in police performance of noncriminal services has not been universally welcomed. Opponents of this trend make several assumptions in concluding that it is dangerous:

1. A judgment as to what should be the primary residual function of the police, i.e., that police should stick to fighting crime;
2. An assumption regarding the potential effectiveness of the police, i.e., that police will have more time to fight crime if they avoid spending time on social services;
3. An assumption that police activities as they now exist are in fact separable, i.e., that police activities are not integrated and it does not matter that a call for assistance might require a social worker rather than a social control agent;
4. An assumption that it is both desirable and feasible to reduce the conflict that arises by virtue of the police having to act in both a helping and punitive role; and
5. An assumption that private or other governmental agencies can perform some of the existing police functions more effectively than can the police (ABA, 1972: 39-42).

Increased awareness of the variety of police tasks has created considerable interest not only in whether police should provide noncriminal social services, but in how they came to perform them. Historians have remarked that police performed various service functions even before assuming responsibilities for criminal matters. Whitehouse notes that:

> Traditionalist policemen seem to live with the fear that today's policemen are being turned into social workers and will be leaving the law enforcement function behind. This is patently a myth not borne out by the facts. American policemen in past centuries were at least as service oriented as today's police officer, if not more so (Whitehouse, 1973: 87).

Whitehouse cites examples of how police in the nineteenth century directed citizens to the proper community agency if the police could not meet individual needs with available resources. In reviewing accounts of how police in Boston and New York escorted drunken citizens to their homes, solved family quarrels, administered emergency medical assistance, referred citizens to physicians (a list of whom police carried with them for referral, much like today's social service agency directories), and directed citizens to public welfare agencies, he concludes that "if anything, the police were more deeply involved in the community service aspects of their jobs a hundred years ago than today" (Whitehouse, 1973: 88).

Whitehouse argues that police referral of citizens to the proper community agency was carried out as a matter of course, without any indication of what he perceives as the current role conflict of the officer. Despite these early police efforts at social service provision, most discussions of the police role pay scant attention to its service aspects. A review of several police administration textbooks clearly shows that law enforcement functions have taken precedence, at least until recent years, and that there has been almost no discussion of police referral systems.

In one of the earliest police administration texts, Fuld argued that police lacked the educational qualifications and native talent for social work and that the nature of the police role did not allow officers to get to know citizens as well as was necesaary for effective social work (Fuld, 1909: 202). Fosdick recognized that police were gradually assuming some service functions; he complained that departments were being unnecessarily complicated by the addition of these "extraneous and unrelated functions, instead of building an organization around the single duty of maintaining law and order." However, Fosdick admitted that "police work cannot be isolated from other welfare agencies of the community concerned with social problems . . . . The new policing demands a type of officer interested and trained in social service" (Fosdick, 1921: 373).

Recognition of the police role in social service delivery has grown rapidly since these early statements. Kuykendall and Unsinger point out that a common method of defining the multifaceted police role has been to identify departmental goals. Their tabular review of five classic police texts shows that three recognized the importance of regulating noncriminal activities, although none explicitly proclaimed provision of social services as a goal (Kuykendall and Unsinger, 1975: 20).

The International City Managers' Association's (ICMA) second edition of Municipal Police Administration stated that police were occasionally "burdened" with duties for which they had "no particular fitness" such as emergency medical services, temporarily lodging the homeless, emergency relief for the destitute, and employment services. While virtually ignoring social services, the ICMA talked of crime prevention through interaction with character-building social organizations. Most prevention efforts featuring police-community agency interaction involved juvenile delinquents; referral was listed as one of six possible case dispositions (ICMA, 1943: 223).

In its fourth edition in 1954, Municipal Police Administration devoted an entire chapter to delinquency prevention. The ICMA still felt that:

> juvenile officers should not attempt professional social case-work and should undertake recreation and other group work only under special circumstances. The emphasis properly should be on investigation, referral, and follow-up (ICMA, 1954: 228).

Referral was defined as sending offenders to juvenile court. Police were deemed unable to handle problems of juvenile delinquency without the assistance of treatment facilities; community agencies mentioned as integral to police work with juveniles were again character-building institutions like Boy Scouts, YWCA, schools, and churches. Patrol officers were to work with juveniles only where departments were too small to establish separate juvenile bureaus. Public inebriates and the mentally ill received only passing mention; officers were instructed not to provide treatment facilities for these people, but to transport them to proper institutions (ICMA, 1954: 465).

In its seventh edition in 1971, Municipal Police Administration overtly recognized the regulation of noncriminal conduct as an integral part of the police mission, along with prevention and repression of crime, apprehension of offenders, recovering property, and performing miscellaneous noncriminal social services (ICMA, 1971: 3). But performance of some social services was still viewed as unnecessarily costly and disruptive of normal police operations. Police service work still primarily involved juveniles. About half of all police contacts with juveniles could be settled by warning and admonition or release to parents, thereby avoiding juvenile court petition (ICMA, 1971: 148). Police were still directed to promote liaisons with social agencies, but should limit their involvement to appropriate functions; operation and maintenance of character-building activities were not police responsibilities. Officers were not properly trained for, and therefore should avoid, diagnosis and treatment of delinquent children. The text quotes O'Connor and Watson who suggest that "police should resist the addition of social work functions to the police job." Assuming these functions "makes it unnecessary for others in the community who ought to be doing them to live up to their responsibilities" (ICMA, 1971: 151).

Only in the concluding chapter written by Clarence M. Kelley and David C. Norrgard does the text note the growing importance of the police service role. The need to handle requests for noncriminal calls expediently and correctly is attributed to new levels of technology and a rising feeling of citizen alienation. The traditional police law enforcement role is no longer sufficient since it fails to consider the interpretive nature of police discretion, an important community relations tool.

> Because of police discretion, many matters called to police attention never enter into the other segments of the criminal justice system, but instead are resolved immediately and independently by the police (ICMA, 1971: 321).

The professional police officer has a strong service orientation. The final chapter states that, in effect, the President's Commission attempted to remove service-related responsibilities from regular officers by delegating noncriminal functions to nonsworn community service officers. Kelley and Norrgard argue that the beat officer should maintain his service orientation because of its discretionary powers and link to professionalism.

The ICMA textbooks have thus proceeded from the 1940s, where social service was scarcely discussed and generally disapproved, to a point 30 years later where its significance to the police role is being vigorously defended, although consideration is largely limited to juveniles. Other texts are characterized by a similar evolution. None consider police referral systems in great detail.

O. W. Wilson, like the ICMA, considered few police-provided social services other than handling of juveniles. He felt that "the police should direct their efforts by helping people out of jails and prisons, so long as this may be done without jeopardy to public peace and security"

(Wilson, 1950: 206). Wilson recognized that "the social welfare character of police service is not a new concept, and many police tasks have social rather than specifically criminal significance" (Wilson, 1950: 207). He argued that police should enlist the aid of social agencies in designing delinquency-prevention programs. Since police were not often qualified to deal with juveniles, experience with police often proved unwholesome for children. Other agencies were specifically designed to provide social services. Wilson offered no criteria as to which juvenile offenders police should handle and which they should send to juvenile court.

Wilson made one of the first definitive statements of the police social service function:

> The old police philosophy of "throw 'em in jail" has given way to an attempt to keep people out of jail. A broadened concept of social responsibility on the part of the police has resulted in a more positive philosophy of service. Police service now includes many aspects of social service for which the police are particularly well suited . . . Police service truly extends beyond mere routine investigation and disposition of complaints; it has as its objective the welfare of the individual and of society (Wilson, 1963: 4-5).

Although police should maintain a file of all social welfare agencies in a community and refer to it in deciding the immediate disposition of a case, no insights into referral procedures were suggested. Police should not attempt to duplicate the work of other agencies, however. Wilson's basic principles did not change from one edition to another. Later editions, however, carried more references to social welfare aspects of police service.

Since the appearance of early police administration texts, stress on the police role as one of crime prevention only has shifted to an emphasis on helping individuals, especially juveniles. Wilson notes the value to society of the "well-adjusted" citizen. The police have been viewed as the logical agency to deliver some social services because of their 24-hour availability, their role in coping with deviant behavior, and their ability to follow through on cases. The police are mobile and can move rapidly and routinely into areas where other agencies would find unhampered involvement difficult; generally the first agency to come in contact with social problems is the police.

The shift in attitudes about the police service functions -- from one of complaint about wasting time in noncriminal matters (Fuld, 1909; Fosdick, 1921; ICMA, 1943), to one of the inevitability and correctness of police involvement (Wilson, 1950; ICMA, 1971) -- is especially notable in Leonard and More's Police Organization and Management. In their third edition in 1971 they argued that police should function as a social service agency for juveniles, and suggested two approaches. In the first approach police functioned largely as an agency of discovery and referral where referral meant not only court petition, but directing citizens to social agencies that would assume final responsibility for case disposition. In the second, police maintained final responsibility for disposition; preliminary investigation was followed by diagnostic procedures involving officers in social work. Officers should refer cases to community agencies only if the chance of "favorable adjustment" is likely. The first approach meant that police "largely abdicated their obligation and responsibilities," while the second was considered more professional and enlightened. The internal, medical-therapeutic approach was deemed superior to the external referral approach (Leonard and More, 1971: 316-317).

The police social-worker concept was partially supported by O. W. Wilson, but Leonard and More are among its strongest proponents:

> Group work agencies have tended to resent the intrusion of the police into what they consider their field, and some judges disapprove of the exercise of quasi-judicial power by the police. Social agencies have failed to recognize the distinction in functions. [A police social service unit] is not an intruding and competing new welfare agency, but a police unit with a social welfare point of view. There is an element of treatment involved in every police contact prior to, as well as after, the arrest, and it is a police responsibility to make these contacts beneficial rather than harmful. Regarding the exercise of quasi-judicial powers, no police officer can be divested of discretionary power in determining the advisability or inadvisability of arrest (Leonard and More, 1971: 318).

Although they make no mention of referral systems, Leonard and More imply that police referral is usually unnecessary, that officers can provide social services themselves without the aid of outside agencies.

In 1975, Kuykendall and Unsinger's Community Police Administration argued for a "goal-oriented role definition" of police that was a departure from previous approaches. The authors followed tradition in defining the variety of police roles by citing agency goals, but instead of emphasizing the control, prevention, and repression of crime, they argued that the police role must guide their behavior in a democratic society. Police should practice consistent law enforcement and investigate crime, but should also "attempt management of interpersonal and intergroup conflict with minimal reliance on force," and should work "with other community and criminal justice agencies to alter the causes of crime and to cope effectively with its occurrence" (Kuykendall and Unsinger, 1975: 19-20).

Community Police Administration is one of the few texts to openly consider police referral as a means of accomplishing a major task. Referral -- directing individual problems to agencies outside the criminal justice system -- is a personalized response to citizen needs that not only helps reduce interpersonal conflict, but improves crime control through generation of stronger support for police. Referral is directed at influencing the motives of individuals involved in criminal or potentially criminal situations. Police become involved in counseling, connoting a positive response to citizens (Kuykendall and Unsinger, 1975: 28-31). The problem with referral is that it may not be objective. Officers may refer persons to social agencies because they need help in solving a personal problem that has somehow been brought to police attention, or because they are helping friends or favoring particular groups at the expense of others.

Part of the Kuykendall-Unsinger conception of referral is a refinement of an earlier discussion by James Q. Wilson in which Wilson identified three styles of police organization: watchman, service, and legalistic (Wilson, 1968b). Alternatives to arrest, such as referral, were often used in order-maintenance situations. Kuykendall and Unsinger cite the example of a police officer who discovered a group of juveniles drinking beer. An officer in a watchman-style department would either ignore the situation or confiscate the beer and tell the juveniles to go home. In a legalistic-style department the juveniles would probably be arrested. Under the service style they would receive counseling and be released to their parents (Kuykendall and Unsinger, 1975: 25).

Goldstein revised the list of police objectives he had prepared for the American Bar Association (which is considerably longer than lists presented in earlier police administration texts) to include activities like aiding individuals who are in physical danger, such as victims of crime; assisting those who cannot help themselves, such as the intoxicated, the addicted, the mentally ill, the physically disabled, and the young and old; and resolving conflicts between individuals and groups (Goldstein, 1977: 35). By listing multiple police objectives Goldstein (1) placed social service delivery in perspective as a major police function, (2) placed both "serious" and "nonserious" crime together without making a distinction or ranking them in importance, and (3) explicitly recognized police duties considered in the past to be peripheral or even improper.

## Implications for Referral

The gradual recognition that police officers have more to do than fighting crime has important implications for police referral systems. Concern over the multiplicity of police functions suggested to Goldstein that:

> In the vast majority of individual cases handled by the police, their action can be separated into two stages. At the first stage they imply a variety of methods to intervene, heavily influenced by the feeling that "something must be done quickly." Having taken care of the immediate crisis, and having acquired additional information, the police then proceed . . . to the second stage, where they choose from among various alternatives to dispose of the case (Goldstein, 1977: 36-37).

The initial stage may consist of no more than listening to a caller and asking a few questions, or it may involve securing a crime scene. The methods available in step one -- settling the immediate crisis -- may be quite different from those available in step two -- case disposition. In some cases the two stages may be inseparable. Police have available a wide variety of intervention and disposal techniques; referral can occur in either stage. A simple information exchange may constitute an immediate referral, while a referral to a psychiatric counselor may come long after an individual has been arrested.

Police referral can occur at any step between initial intervention into, and final disposition of, a case. That police have alternative dispositions open to them has not been fully recognized until recently:

> In order to dispose of the large volume of diverse cases they handle, the police employ a number of systems in addition to the criminal justice system which are rarely acknowledged formally but are generally assumed to be as effective as, if not more effective than, more formal processing. Because we have blinded ourselves over the years to the fact that police do choose from among various forms of disposition, the choice is usually left to individual police officers with minimal guidance from their superiors, and subject to no formal review. These decisions, however, can have a profound effect upon people's lives. Rather than perpetuate the notion that these police actions outside of the criminal justice system are reluctantly and infrequently employed, it is far preferable -- especially given their frequency -- to recognize them as clear and, if properly used, appropriate alternatives (Goldstein, 1977: 39).

Examination of police referral systems will accentuate the vast amount of discretion exercised -- sometimes by necessity and sometimes by choice -- by police officers. It will also point out the impact of referral on individual citizens, police agency organization, and the overall matrix of social services provided in urban communities. The purpose of this review is to examine literature that has recognized, either implicitly or explicitly, that alternative dispositions exist, and that one of them is police referral.

# CHAPTER 3

## POLICE REFERRAL LITERATURE: ASSESSMENT OF KEY HYPOTHESES

This chapter assesses police referral literature selected from a search of books and periodicals in criminology, criminal law, police science, sociology, psychology, public administration, and related fields. Published bibliographies; unpublished manuscripts; policy statements; federal, state, and local documents; and program descriptions and evaluations were also canvassed. We focused on three issues -- juvenile delinquency, public intoxication, and domestic crisis intervention -- because early in our search it became apparent that most literature on police social service provision covered these areas. Discussion is organized around 11 recurring hypotheses, most of which apply to each of the three issues.[1] The hypotheses are:

$H_1$: Likelihood of police referral is determined by police agency policies.

$H_2$: Likelihood of police referral is determined by police agency structure and organization.

$H_3$: Likelihood of police referral is determined by presence and availability of community social service agencies.

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[1] One obvious hypothesis is not included in the list: that referral increases police effectiveness in dealing with citizens' problems. It was omitted not because it is unimportant, nor because it was not discussed in the literature (although conclusions on this point are infrequent). Rather, the omission was the result of our research focus. Our field research was designed to examine the immediate effects of police referral and the nature of police department-referral agency relations. The literature assessment was geared toward preparing us to conduct this research. A study of the long-term effects of referral on citizen's is a necessary and laudable project, but one which is beyond our current scope. For a full description of our research design and project goals see Police Referral Systems in Metropolitan America: Phase II.

$H_4$: Likelihood of police referral is determined by police officer characteristics.

$H_5$: Likelihood of police referral is determined by characteristics of citizens/victims/offenders/complainants.

$H_6$: Likelihood of police referral is determined by community service conditions.

$H_7$: Likelihood of police referral is determined by the existing legal context governing policing.

$H_8$: Likelihood of police referral is determined by availability of police agency resources.

$H_9$: Likelihood of police referral is determined by levels of police discretion.

$H_{10}$: Police referral increases efficiency of the criminal justice system.

$H_{11}$: Police referral increases effectiveness of the criminal justice system.

Tables 1 through 3 identify articles discussing each hypothesis (listed by number), note whether they consider police referral directly or provide only background information (Column 1), and indicate whether they support their conclusions with original statistical data (Column 2). Data may or may not be directly related to referral and can include both descriptive statistics (percentages and frequencies) and more sophisticated techniques (correlation, regression, or factor analysis), but must be an original presentation to be mentioned in the tables.

The tables are organized by the three primary issues. Literature about each issue is arrayed in chronological order by author's last name(s). A "●" in a column indicates that an article discusses an hypothesis, mentions referral directly, or presents empirical data. A ● does not necessarily indicate support for an hypothesis, only that the hypothesis is considered in the article. Hypotheses were left purposely

## TABLE 1

### Literature On Police Referral Of Juveniles

| CITATION | REFERRAL | ORIGINAL STATISTICAL DATA | HYPOTHESES | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| Tappan (1946) | | | | | | | | | ● | | | ● | |
| Ellingston (1948) | ● | | | | ● | | | ● | | | | | |
| Kahn (1951c) | ● | | | ● | ● | ● | ● | | | ● | | | |
| Chwast (1954) | ● | | | | | | ● | | | | ● | | |
| Abernathy (1962) | ● | | ● | | | | | | | ● | ● | | |
| Kadish (1962) | | | | | | | | | | | ● | | |
| LaFave (1962) | ● | | | | | ● | | ● | ● | ● | ● | | |
| Myren & Swanson (1962) | ● | | ● | | ● | | | | | | ● | | ● |
| Cohn (1963) | | ● | | | | | ● | | | | | | |
| Shannon (1963) | | ● | | | | | ● | ● | | | | | |
| Piliavin & Briar (1964) | | ● | | | ● | ● | ● | | ● | | ● | | |
| MacIver (1966) | ● | | ● | | | | | | | | | | ● |
| Gross (1967) | | ● | | | | | ● | | ● | | | | |
| McEachern & Bauzer (1967) | | ● | | | | ● | ● | ● | ● | | | | |
| Pizzuto (1967) | | ● | ● | | | | | | | | | | |
| President's Commission (1967b) | ● | ● | | | | ● | | | ● | | | ● | |
| President's Commission (1967d) | | | | ● | | ● | | ● | | | ● | | ● |
| Terry (1967) | ● | ● | | | | | ● | | ● | | | | |
| Adams (1968) | ● | | | ● | | | ● | | ● | | | | |
| Cicourel (1968) | ● | ● | | ● | | ● | ● | | | | | | |

TABLE 1 (Continued)

| CITATION | REFERRAL | ORIGINAL STATISTICAL DATA | HYPOTHESES | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| Wilson (1968a) | | ● | ● | ● | | ● | | ● | | | | ● | |
| Cohen (1969) | ● | ● | | | | | | | | | | | ● |
| Davis (1969) | ● | | ● | | | ● | | | | | ● | | |
| Goldman (1969) | ● | ● | | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | | | | |
| Hohenstein (1969) | | ● | | | | | ● | | ● | | | | |
| Monahan (1969) | | ● | | | | | | ● | | | | | |
| Spergel (1969) | ● | | | | | ● | | | | | | | |
| Bercal (1970) | ● | ● | ● | | | | | ● | | | | | |
| Black & Reiss (1970) | ● | ● | ● | | | | ● | ● | ● | | | | |
| Cummins (1970) | | | | | | ● | | | | | | | |
| Gibbons (1970) | | | | | | ● | | | | | | | |
| Gold (1970) | ● | ● | | | | | ● | | ● | | | | |
| Kenney & Pursuit (1970) | ● | | | ● | ● | | | | ● | | | | ● |
| Morris & Hawkins (1970) | ● | | | | | | | | | | | ● | |
| Terry (1970) | ● | ● | | | | | ● | | ● | | | | |
| Webster (1970) | | ● | | | | ● | ● | | | | | | |
| Duxbury (1971) | ● | ● | | | | | | | | | | | ● |
| Hahn, P. (1971) | ● | | | | | ● | | | | | | | ● |
| Klein (1971) | ● | ● | ● | | ● | ● | | | | ● | | | |
| Kobetz (1971) | ● | | ● | | | ● | ● | | ● | | ● | | ● |
| Lemert (1971) | ● | | | | | ● | | | ● | ● | | ● | |
| National Institute Mental Health (1971b) | ● | ● | | ● | | | ● | | ● | | ● | ● | |
| Weiner & Willie (1971) | ● | ● | | ● | | | ● | | | | | | |

TABLE 1 (Continued)

| CITATION | REFERRAL | ORIGINAL STATISTICAL DATA | HYPOTHESES | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| American Correctional Association (1972) | ● | | | | ● | ● | | | | ● | | | |
| Baron & Feeney (1972) | ● | | | | ● | ● | | | | | | | |
| Flammang (1972) | ● | | ● | | | | | | | | | ● | ● |
| Norman (1972) | ● | | | | ● | ● | | | | | | | |
| Sundeen (1972) | ● | ● | ● | | | ● | | | | | | | |
| Binder, Green, Newkirk (1973) | ● | | | | | | ● | | ● | | | ● | ● |
| Brown (1973) | | | | | | ● | | | | | | | |
| Cressey & McDermott (1973) | ● | | ● | | ● | | ● | | ● | | ● | | ● |
| Duxbury (1973) | ● | ● | ● | ● | | ● | ● | | | | | | ● |
| Eisenberg (1973) | | | | | | ● | | | | | | | |
| Empey & Lubeck (1973) | | | | | | | | | | | | | ● |
| Klein (1973) | ● | | ● | ● | | ● | ● | ● | ● | | ● | | ● |
| Kobetz & Bosarge (1973) | ● | | | | | | | | | | | | ● |
| Thomson & Treger (1973) | ● | ● | | | | | | | | | | ● | |
| Thornberry (1973) | | ● | | | | | ● | | ● | | | | |
| Webster (1973) | | | | | | | ● | | | | | | |
| Coffey (1974a) | | | ● | ● | | | | | ● | | | | |
| Dash (1974) | ● | | | | ● | | ● | | | | | | |
| Gibbs (1974) | | ● | | | | | ● | | | | | | |
| Klein (1974) | ● | ● | | | | | | | | | | | ● |
| Meyer (1974) | | ● | | | | | | ● | | | | | |
| Pitchess (1974) | ● | | | | | | | ● | | | | ● | ● |
| Schregardus (1974) | ● | | | | | | ● | ● | | | | ● | |
| Sorensen (1974) | ● | ● | | | | | ● | | | | | | ● |

TABLE 1 (Continued)

| CITATION | REFERRAL | ORIGINAL STATISTICAL DATA | HYPOTHESES 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sundeen (1974a) | ● | ● | ● | | | ● | | | | | | | ● |
| Sundeen (1974b) | ● | ● | ● | | | ● | | | | | | | |
| Yale Law J. (1974) | ● | | | | | | ● | | | | | ● | ● |
| Bayer (1975) | | | | | | ● | | | | | | | |
| Chamelin (1975) | ● | | ● | | ● | ● | ● | | ● | | ● | | |
| Cohen (1975b) | ● | ● | | | | | ● | | ● | | | | |
| Cohen (1975d) | ● | ● | | | | | ● | | ● | | | | |
| DiVito (1975) | ● | | | ● | | | ● | | | | | ● | ● |
| Stratton (1975) | ● | ● | | | | | ● | | | | | ● | ● |
| Thomas & Sieverdes (1975) | | ● | | | | | ● | | ● | | ● | | |
| Wilbanks (1975) | ● | ● | ● | ● | | ● | ● | | | | | | |
| Baron & Feeney (1976) | | | | | | | | | | | | | ● |
| Clark (1976) | ● | | | | | | ● | | ● | | ● | | |
| Cole (1976) | ● | | | | | | | | | | | ● | |
| Gibbons & Blake (1976) | ● | | | | ● | ● | ● | | | ● | | ● | ● |
| Kelley, Schulman, & Lynch (1976) | ● | ● | ● | | ● | | | | | | ● | | ● |
| Klein (1976a) | ● | | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | | ● | ● | | ● | ● |
| Klein et al. (1976) | ● | ● | | ● | | | ● | | | | | ● | ● |
| Klein & Teilman (1976) | ● | ● | | ● | | | ● | | | ● | | | |
| Lincoln (1976) | ● | ● | | | | | | | | | | ● | ● |
| Nejelski (1976) | ● | | | | ● | | | | | | | ● | ● |
| Pink & White (1976) | ● | | | ● | | | ● | | ● | | | ● | ● |
| Rutherford & McDermott (1976) | ● | | | | | | ● | | | | | ● | ● |

TABLE 2

Literature on Police Referral of Public Inebriates

| CITATION | REFERRAL | ORIGINAL STATISTICAL DATA | HYPOTHESES | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| Bacon (1949) | | | | ● | | | | | | | | | |
| Pittman & Gordon (1958) | | ● | | | | | ● | | | | | | |
| Matejicka (1963) | | | ● | | | ● | | | | | ● | | |
| Jackson (1964) | | | | | | | | | | | | | ● |
| Glaser & O'Leary (1966) | | ● | | | | | | | | | | | ● |
| Byrne (1967) | ● | ● | | | | | | | | | | ● | |
| Kadish (1967) | | | | | | | | | | | | ● | ● |
| Stern (1967) | | | | | | ● | ● | | ● | | ● | | ● |
| President's Commission (1967c) | ● | | | ● | | ● | | | ● | | | | ● |
| Pennsylvania Crime Commission (1969) | ● | | | | ● | | | | ● | | | | ● |
| Tatham (1969) | | | | | | | | | ● | | | | |
| Mathews (1970) | | | | | | | | | ● | | | | |
| Gammage & Sachs (1971) | ● | | | | ● | | | | | | | ● | |
| Grad-Goldberg-Shapiro (1971) | ● | | | | | | ● | | ● | | ● | | |
| Nimmer (1971) | ● | ● | ● | | ● | ● | ● | | ● | | | ● | ● |
| Zylman (1971) | | | | ● | | ● | | | | | | | |
| Dayton Bureau of Alcoholism & Drug Abuse (1972) | ● | | | | | | | | | | | ● | ● |
| Erskine (1972) | ● | | ● | | | ● | | | ● | | | ● | ● |
| Truax (1972) | | | | | | | | | ● | | | | |
| Owens (1973) | ● | ● | | | ● | ● | | | | | | | |
| Rubington (1973) | ● | | | ● | | ● | | | | | | | ● |

TABLE 2 (Continued)

| CITATION | REFERRAL | ORIGINAL STATISTICAL DATA | HYPOTHESES | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| Stratton (1973) | ● | ● | | ● | | ● | ● | | | | | | |
| Vorenberg & Vorenberg (1973) | | | | | | | | | | | | | ● |
| Ottenberg & Carpey (1974) | ● | | ● | ● | | | | | | | | ● | ● |
| Boston Detox (ICMA) (1975) | ● | | ● | | | | | | | | ● | | |
| Corectional Association, NY-IACP (1975) | | | | | ● | | | | ● | | ● | | |
| Goodman (1975) | ● | | | | | | | | ● | | ● | ● | ● |
| Hewitt (1975) | ● | | ● | | ● | ● | | | | | | ● | |
| Kurtz & Regier (1975) | ● | | | | | | ● | | ● | | | ● | ● |
| Piper & Rivers (1975) | ● | ● | | | | ● | | | | | | | |
| Pittman (1975) | ● | ● | ● | | | ● | ● | | | | ● | | ● |
| Rubington (1975) | ● | ● | | | ● | ● | ● | | ● | | | | |
| Haggard (1976) | ● | ● | ● | | | | | | ● | | | ● | ● |
| Room (1976) | ● | | | | | | ● | | ● | | | ● | ● |
| Goldstein (1977) | ● | | ● | | ● | ● | ● | | ● | | ● | | ● |

## TABLE 3

## Literature On Police Referral of Persons Involved In Domestic Crises

| CITATION | REFERRAL | ORIGINAL STATISTICAL DATA | HYPOTHESES 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cumming, Cumming, & Edell (1965) |  | ● | ● |  | ● | ● | ● |  |  |  | ● |  | ● |
| Parnas (1967) | ● |  | ● | ● |  | ● | ● |  |  | ● | ● |  | ● |
| Bard (1970a) | ● |  |  | ● |  | ● |  |  |  |  |  | ● | ● |
| Bard (1970b) | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● |  |  |  |  | ● | ● |
| Alexander (1971) | ● | ● |  | ● |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bard (1971b) | ● | ● | ● | ● |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Murphy, Clendenin, Darvish, & Robins (1971) |  | ● |  | ● |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Parnas (1971) | ● |  | ● | ● |  | ● |  |  |  |  | ● | ● | ● |
| Chapman & Sonenblum (1972) | ● | ● | ● |  |  | ● |  | ● |  |  |  |  |  |
| Treger (1972a) | ● |  |  | ● | ● |  |  |  |  |  |  | ● | ● |
| Driscoll, Meyer, & Schanie (1973) | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● |  |  |  |  |  | ● | ● |
| Furstenberg & Wellford (1973) | ● | ● |  |  | ● |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mills (1973) | ● | ● | ● | ● |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mintz & Sandler (1973) | ● | ● | ● | ● |  |  |  | ● |  |  | ● |  | ● |
| Silverman & Silverman (1973) | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Aguilera & Messick (1974) | ● | ● |  | ● | ● |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bard & Zacker (1974) | ● | ● |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Barocas (1974) | ● | ● | ● |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | ● |
| Coffey (1974b) | ● |  | ● |  | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● |
| Irwin (1974) | ● | ● |  |  | ● |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

TABLE 3 (Continued)

| CITATION | REFERRAL | ORIGINAL STATISTICAL DATA | HYPOTHESES | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| McGee (1974) | | ● | | | ● | ● | | | ● | | | ● | ● |
| Mintz & Sandler (1974) | ● | ● | ● | | | | | | | | | | ● |
| Treger, Thomson, & Jaeck (1974) | ● | ● | | ● | ● | | | | | | | ● | ● |
| Bard (1975) | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | ● | | | | ● | ● |
| Kowalewski (1975) | ● | ● | ● | | ● | | | | | | | ● | ● |
| Sandler (1975) | | | ● | ● | | ● | | | | | | | |
| Curtis & Lutkus (1976) | ● | ● | | ● | ● | | ● | | | | | ● | ● |
| Farmer & Kowalewski (1976) | ● | | ● | | ● | | | | | | | | ● |
| Sandler & diGrazia (1976) | | | ● | ● | | ● | | | | ● | | | |
| Treger (1976b) | ● | ● | | ● | ● | | ● | ● | | ● | | | ● |
| Goldstein, Monti, Sardino, & Green (1977) | ● | | ● | ● | ● | | | | | | | ● | ● |

broad to encompass as much literature as possible. Tables 1 through 3 make no attempt to summarize topics discussed under each hypothesis; interested readers are urged to return to the original study for detailed information. The assessment discusses most articles listed in Tables 1 through 3. While it is impossible in three tables to reflect the differences in approaches and findings of so many diverse studies, Tables 1 through 3 may prove useful to readers by identifying relevant literature.

## Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief discussion of our three issues, then examines literature dealing with each hypothesis. Establishing a judicial system for handling juveniles separate from that for adults represented an attempt to reduce the severity of criminal justice sentencing on youthful offenders. The first statewide juvenile court was created by the Illinois Legislature in 1899. The Illinois law and its amendments implemented many features of today's state juvenile justice system: informal hearings; confidential records; separate detention facilities; and unified jurisdiction of juvenile courts over cases of child dependency, neglect, and juvenile delinquency. By 1911, 22 states had established juvenile courts; today every state has a juvenile court system (President's Commission, 1967d: 3).

Contrary to original intentions, however, juvenile court procedures often infringed on the rights of offenders and stigmatized juveniles they were designed to help. They were criticized for failure to achieve humanitarian goals, rehabilitate juveniles, and prevent delinquency; they became progressively ineffective and incorporated characteristics of adult criminal courts.

A series of Supreme Court decisions in the 1960s substantiated this criticism and attempted to change the patterns of juvenile justice. In Kent v. U.S. the Supreme Court noted:

> While there can be no doubt of the original laudable purpose of juvenile courts, studies and critiques in recent years raise serious questions as to whether actual performance measures well enough against theoretical purpose to make tolerable the immunity of the process from the reach of constitutional guarantees applicable to adults . . . There is evidence, in fact, that there may be grounds for concern that the child receives the worst of both worlds: that he gets neither the protections accorded to adults nor the solicitous care and regenerative treatment postulated for children (Kent v. U. S., 1964: 555-556).

The Supreme Court later ruled that juvenile courts must provide a minimum level of due process for juveniles, includ[illegible] such rights as notice of charges, right to counsel, right to confrontation and cross-examination of witnesses, and protection against self-incrimination (In re Gault, 1967).

If court decisions provided the impetus for juvenile court reform, then the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice suggested the means of implementing it. The Commission concluded:

> The great hopes originally held for the juvenile court have not been fulfilled. It has not succeeded significantly in rehabilitating delinquent youth, in reducing or even stemming the tide of juvenile criminality, or bringing justice and compassion to the child offender (President's Commission, 1967d: 7).

The Commission found that juvenile courts had too few resources and alternatives for case disposition to permit them to realize their potential. In an attempt to correct these failures the Commission recommended establishment of alternative methods for handling problem juveniles. Its suggestions emphasized the need for diversion in order to keep juveniles apprehended for minor offenses out of the courts. The Commission also suggested guidelines for pre-judicial disposition of juvenile cases:

> (1) Pre-judicial dispositions should be made as early as possible in the stages of official agency contact;
>
> (2) They should be based on stated criteria that are shared with and regularly reviewed by all delinquency control authorities within the community; and
>
> (3) Whenever attempts are undertaken to render guidance or exert control (as distinct from screening without further action) the pre-judicial handling agency should be alert to coercive possibilities and the dispositions it can render should be effectively restricted (President's Commission, 1967d: 18-19).

The Commission recommended that police promptly determine which juvenile cases were suitable for pre-judicial disposition. The police, often the juvenile's first contact with the criminal justice system, were delegated a critical role in keeping offenders and predelinquents out of court. Police were encouraged to offer counseling and referral services for juveniles; where appropriate, predelinquents and minor offenders were to be diverted to community social service agencies.

Concurrently the Commission recommended establishing Youth Service Bureaus (YSB). The YSB program, designed to provide a broad range of services to both delinquent and nondelinquent youths, was to accept referrals from a wide range of sources, including police (President's Commission, 1967d: 19-21). The goals of YSB and other diversion programs --

reducing stigmatization, reducing juvenile crime, and providing aid and treatment for delinquents and predelinquents -- were similar to those originally intended by advocates of juvenile courts.

While the Commission recognized the importance of police referral, like the literature on treatment of juveniles that followed its appearance, it focused more on diversion away from courts than on referral to social service agencies. Although our focus is on police referral, we discuss those articles in which the author's conception of diversion and our conception of police referral overlap. Literature on nonjudicial disposition of juvenile cases can be categorized as descriptive, hypothetical, and empirical. Descriptive literature includes program descriptions, literature reviews, and general summaries of police procedures and activities. Program descriptions cover program planning, structure, operation, and occasionally evaluation. Literature and historical reviews are infrequent.

Hypothetical literature on juvenile disposition is extensive. It is characterized by broad statements and unsubstantiated claims about the nature, functions, and value of referral programs. Empirical studies are infrequent, usually examining characteristics of juvenile offenders and their effect on case disposition. Police referral rates are rarely computed since most empirical literature approaches referral from a community agency or juvenile court -- rather than a police -- perspective.

There is an extensive literature on alcoholism and the criminal justice system dating from the 1880s. The merits of treating alcoholism as a disease rather than a criminal offense have been debated throughout American history; as early as 1910, attempts were made to decriminalize public intoxication. Yet studies relating police referral to public inebriation were almost nonexistent until the 1960s. Additional information about alcoholism coupled with the legal precedents and reforms of the 1960s have increased interest in police referral of drunks. Between 1962 and 1968, four major court decisions affected police disposition of public inebriates. In Robinson v. California (1962) the court struck down a California statute on inebriation because it constituted cruel and unusual punishment. Drunkenness, but not criminal behavior resulting from it, was defined as an illness instead of a criminal offense in Driver v. Hinnant (1966). The court ruled that alcoholism was a defense for public intoxication. Easter v. the District of Columbia (1966) supported this principle and cited alcoholism as a special and valid defense. It differed from a defense based on mental illness in that instead of the offender not knowing that he or she was doing anything wrong (as with mental illness), the alcoholic was not committing an offense merely by being drunk in public. In Powell v. Texas (1968) the court held that alcoholism was a disease, but did not remove criminal sanctions for public intoxication. For a review and history of the move toward decriminalization, see Kurtz and Regier (1975); for additional background see Room (1976).

Three factors underly these decisions and corresponding changes in attitudes toward treatment of public inebriates:

- As medical research focused on prevention and treatment, alcoholism was recognized as a medical problem instead of a criminal matter.

- Attitudes shifted from emphasizing protection of society from drunks to protection of drunks from disease.

- Arrest of alcoholics was normally practiced in a highly discriminatory manner; laws against public inebriation were applied almost exclusively to skid-row drunks.

These and other factors culminated in the passage of the Uniform Alcoholism and Intoxication Treatment Act in 1971, adopted in several states. The Act holds that alcoholics and intoxicated persons may not be subjected to criminal prosecution simply because they are drunk in public; they should be allowed access to treatment facilities. Police should transport them or hold them in protective custody until space is available in a treatment facility. For an analysis of the background and effects of the passage of the Uniform Act in California see Goodman (1975).

Literature on police referral of public drunks dates from 1962 and emphasizes the need to decriminalize public inebriation. Apparent settlement of the legal debate and consequent efforts in many states to remove public drunkenness as an arrestable offense have led observers to examine other questions relating to crime and alcohol. Hypotheses have appeared relating effects of departmental policies and officer training to likelihood of police referral of public drunks to detoxification facilities. Articles have examined effectiveness of detoxification and other forms of treatment. Most data come from small sample surveys of police agencies or detoxification programs. Few studies have attempted experimental designs or instituted controls; even fewer have compared effects of various forms of police organization or policies on likelihood of referral. As with juvenile referral, programs are so different that comparison is difficult.

In our review we discuss a certain category of public inebriates --

skid-row drunks, vagrant alcoholics who have committed no crime except public drunkenness. We do not discuss alcoholics who commit crimes while under the influence nor do we consider literature on "respectable" or white-collar alcoholics. Referral, as used in both the literature and this review, applies to police transporting or directing public drunks to detoxification or other treatment centers.

Our third area of concentration is police intervention into domestic crises. Domestic crisis intervention "is the assistance of an independent agent to parties having some problem or dispute that demands immediate attention" (Liebman and Schwartz, 1973: 421). Domestic disturbances have received increasing attention because of the inordinate number of calls received, time spent answering those calls, officers injured in service, and repeated calls for assistance. Studies in the late 1960s -- indicating that police response to family crisis situations was ineffective in settling disputes or preventing them from recurring -- have engendered opposing conclusions. One conclusion, reinforced by popular media, is that domestic disturbances are not police matters; police should spend their time fighting crime and leave the problem to social workers. The other is to improve police effectiveness in dealing with family crises, thereby increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of social service agencies.

Concurrent with police attempts to cope with escalating problems of domestic violence was the development of a new method of community assistance to people in need -- crisis intervention. Based on research in mental health and psychology, crisis intervention techniques acknowledge that at times people lose the ability to cope with problems and require immediate assistance. Lack of assistance can be critical and may invoke police intervention. In many communities social service agencies provide crisis intervention services, but their response capabilities are sometimes limited; long waiting lists, short office hours, and an insufficient range of responses means many people in need of assistance are not being reached. Mental health professionals began to seek more effective means of providing immediate help. The more people reached in time, they theorized, the fewer resources required to help them and the more effectively they could be treated.

Despite the traditional animosity between social workers and police, it seemed apparent to some practitioners that both stood to gain from cooperation. Social workers had training and long-range counseling capability; police had 24-hour "instant" availability, mobility, and were often the first agency called in emergencies. The combination and cooperation of the two services, it was argued, could only enhance each other's effectiveness, resulting in better service. Police crisis intervention programs thus evolved from theories of crisis management and a positive attitude toward police as social service providers. Police intervention programs were developed in various cities to test theories and methods of improving services.

A crisis "occurs when an individual faces a situation that is for a time insurmountable through the utilization of customary methods of problem solving" (Farmer and Kowalewski, 1976: 115). Domestic crises center on problems within a family, but can include disputes between individuals not legally related (intimates living together, neighbors, or a landlord/tenant situation) or a personal crisis, such as attempted suicide.

As Parnas (1971) notes, when the dispute or crisis is among close relations, it is not a regular criminal situation and calls for different police action. The International Association of Chiefs of Police states that power of arrest should be exercised only as a last resort when dealing with family disputes (Parnas, 1967). Officers' actions reflect their recognition of the importance of interpersonal relationships in the dispute; officers tend to favor adjustment of domestic disputes rather than arrest (Parnas, 1971).

> The typical family-crisis intervention project is designed to augment an officer's options by providing him with training in skillful mediation as a form of immediate intervention, and by enabling him to make selective referrals to social agencies (Goldstein, 1977: 77).

The goal of most family crisis intervention projects is to develop sensitive, skillful police intervention that can reduce the number of assaults, homicides, and other crimes resulting from domestic violence. Side products may be improvement of police-community relations and reduction of officer injuries. For the definitive statement of the problem and a capsule review of several police crisis intervention programs, see Liebman and Schwartz (1973).

## Hypothesis 1: Police Agency Policies

The literature considers effects of departmental policies on the likelihood of referral only indirectly. Much of it concerns officer discretion in case disposition. That police exercise broad discretion in delivering services is now widely accepted. "In the past the prevalent assumption of both the police and the public was that the police had no discretion -- that their job was to function in strict accordance with the law" (Goldstein, 1977: 93). Officers are often flexible in deciding case disposition. Setting departmental policy may curtail officer discretion and replace it with specific decision-making criteria (Davis, 1969). By limiting officer discretion, departmental referral policies affect officers' behavior in social service cases. It is difficult, however, to discern what (or if) specific referral policies exist in a department.

Klein interviewed chiefs in 46 departments and found that they had developed no specific referral policy and judged each case on its merits (Klein, 1971). Sundeen attempted to classify policies of each juvenile unit that he studied, but had to resort to impressions when he found that juvenile bureau administrators were not able to specify policy guidelines (as reported in Wilbanks, 1975: 166). None of the 13 departments involved in Wilbanks' study had specific, written policies to guide officers' referral decisions:

> This lack of a specific written policy seems to have resulted in considerable disagreement among the juvenile units as to exactly what constituted departmental policy and, perhaps, resulted in disparity within the units as to case disposition (Wilbanks, 1975: 175).

Cressey and McDermott note the importance of considering policy in light of the considerable informal referral activities of police:

> Agents of the juvenile justice system are asked to avoid official, formal actions in their processing of juveniles in trouble. Stated another way, the agents are asked to use their own judgment, to exercise individual discretion, to take informal and unofficial actions. But when individual discretion is manifested in informal actions, there surely has to be a sharp reduction in the formal rules directing the agent's conduct, with a consequent muddling of the criteria on which decisions are based (Cressey and McDermott, 1973: 56).

Nevertheless, several authors have attempted to assess the effects of police agency policies on referral. Sundeen's dissertation measured effects of departmental policy on diversion rates in 47 juvenile units in Los Angeles County. He dichotomized departments according to whether supervisors perceived their department as having a policy of achieving high or low counsel and release rates. There was no significant relationship between his policy variable and actual departmental diversion rates, a finding attributed to differential input, varying degrees of control, and policy implementation (Sundeen, 1972).

Cicourel noted that delinquency rates of two large cities were very different and analyzed the procedural arrangements for handling juveniles in both cities. He concluded that organizational policies for identifying and processing juveniles directly determined the size of the "social problem" (Cicourel, 1968).

One of the few empirical studies dealing with police juvenile policies was Pizzuto's examination of departments serving cities of 50,000 to 100,000 population in Massachusetts. Pizzuto discovered that police juvenile officers and administrators often agree about the kinds of juvenile programs police should adopt. He found that they agreed on the need for police-community agency liaison, informal probation for offenders, police-sponsored delinquency prevention programs, and juvenile counseling services. They also agreed that juvenile officers should aid administrators in establishing juvenile treatment policy. Despite their agreement Pizzuto noted that there is still a divergence between opinion and performance; actual performance of duties deemed important by both groups was sometimes much different than that set out in departmental policies. Officer discretion often overruled departmental guidelines (Pizzuto, 1967).

Chamelin (1975) notes that patrol officers are often the initial criminal justice system contact for juveniles and that officers' decisions to refer or otherwise handle a case are influenced by a variety of factors, including police agency policies. MacIver notes that specific criteria for making arrests seldom exist, but where there are departmental policies -- such as the type and amount of training required for patrol officers -- they will affect officers' decisions. Decisions about juvenile disposition rely heavily on the officer's training and experience. Departments should establish juvenile aid bureaus; specialized officers are needed to handle juveniles since patrol officers are frequently improperly trained (MacIver, 1966).

One of the most important studies of the effects of departmental policies on disposition of juvenile cases was Wilbanks' examination of police agencies in 13 cities. He tested several hypotheses about the effects of officer perceptions of departmental policy on case decisions, and examined policy effects on referral rates. Data indicated that dispositions varied by department; 40 percent of the variance in the decision to insert juveniles into the criminal justice system, and 50 percent of the variance in referrals, was attributable to variation in the officer's department. Disparity in case dispositions within departments was not associated with differences in officers' policy perceptions and resulted from unspecified factors (Wilbanks, 1975: 163).

Wilbanks' failure to find any relationship between perceived policy and departmental decision making was due in part to problems in measuring the policy variable; policy was such a vague term that developing indicators was difficult. Departmental administrators were unable to specify policies. Wilbanks relied on hypothetical questions, answered by administrators, for his measures. Though departmental guidelines, if they exist, might be expected to influence officers' case dispositions in the field, officers apparently place little credence in agency policies on case disposition.

Several studies have suggested the need to develop and implement specific written policies for juvenile referral (Myren and Swanson, 1962; President's Commission, 1967a; Kobetz, 1971). Kobetz emphasizes the importance of formal, written policy:

> It is necessary for police supervisors to clearly define guidelines for the exercise of discretion in juvenile cases to limit and govern choice of action and establish a justification for the choices which are made . . . Policy is a formal pronouncement providing standard instructions to act in prescribed ways under specified conditions in order to achieve desired objectives. Policy is a declaration of intent and signifies the crystallized ideals of the basic philosophy of management, translating this philosophy into action (Kobetz, 1971: 113, 125).

Wilbanks notes the potential danger of juvenile units failing to establish written policy. Individual officers may create their own rules-of-thumb that distort or subvert departmental goals (Wilbanks, 1975: 176-177). Myren and Swanson suggest that police guidelines be established after consultation with juvenile court staff; to assure that guidelines are understood and applied correctly, referral criteria must be continually reviewed (Myren and Swanson, 1962: 28).

In addition to focusing on officer discretion in case disposition, there is some discussion in the literature of policy defining the role of the police in social service delivery, establishing specialized internal units to deliver those services, and assessing the coercive nature of referral. Confusion over the proper police role in delivering social services has retarded development of agency policies for treatment of juveniles, public drunks, and persons involved in domestic disputes. Duxbury's evaluation of Youth Services Bureaus points out that most police departments in California set no criteria for referring juveniles to YSB, thus limiting YSB's effectiveness (Duxbury, 1973). Bercal's study of citizen calls to police in Detroit and St. Louis showed that departments had no established policies for handling noncriminal calls for assistance:

> There exists at this time no consensus, either among police or the communities they serve, on the degree and legitimacy of police involvement in the community. A variety of questions are raised, therefore, by each call for assistance: is the caller asking the police to perform services within the recognized police responsibility? How should the call be handled? Should medical assistance be given? If so, to what extent? How prepared should officers be to give advice or other direction? (Bercal, 1970: 686).

Lack of consistent policy across departments has led some authors to argue that police should avoid involvement with juveniles after initial contact (Flammang, 1972). Myren and Swanson also think police should not undertake juvenile treatment. Police referral policy should specify that referrals be limited to information provision (Myren and Swanson, 1962).

Discretion may lead to creative and individual application of the law, but may also be used for coercive purposes. Some authors have argued that all referrals should be voluntary, thus avoiding situations where police act as judge and jury. If referrals are coercive, then police have unbridled discretionary powers of case disposition (Kelley, Schulman, and Lynch, 1976). The Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime recommended that referrals to Youth Services Bureaus be voluntary, and that all referrals receive follow-up investigations to monitor progress of the treatment. Special emphasis was placed on the need for voluntary disposition of nonjudicial cases (President's Commission, 1967d). Policy may be applied inconsistently. Two persons contacted by officers from the same department regarding the same offense may receive different dispositions, depending less on agency policy and more on officer and citizen attitudes and characteristics (National Institute of Mental Health, 1971b).

Another policy decision bearing on referral is the establishment of internal, specialized police units. Juvenile referral literature discusses the role of youth aid bureaus at length. Early police administration texts suggested establishing separate juvenile units to handle both criminal and noncriminal problems. Ellingston (1948) lists three functions of police juvenile bureaus: (1) handling young offenders taken into custody, (2) discovering and preventing delinquency, and (3) liaison between the police department and the community. Juvenile aid bureaus play a key role in police referral. Even though their officers may not make initial contacts with juveniles, the bureaus may explicitly or implicitly formulate policy on the use of referral in cases involving predelinquents or persons with delinquent tendencies. Some referral programs deliberately avoid handling predelinquents, while others deal with them exclusively (California Youth Authority, 1976; Cressey and McDermott, 1973).

There is less discussion of the effects of police referral policies for public inebriation than for handling juveniles. Since 1963 emphasis in the literature on police and alcoholism has switched from recommending incarceration of public drunks to recommending referral to detoxification or other treatment centers. Until 1971 there was little discussion of the effects of police agency policies. Some authors commented that public drunks detained by police were not being given a choice between the drunk tank or voluntary admission to treatment facilities. Even this choice was a semantic one; the drunk, if capable of reasoned choice, would probably favor the drunk tank because it was a warm place to sleep and he or she would be released quickly. Early literature was also concerned that police treatment of public inebriates was unequal and that skid-row drunks received harsher treatment than middle- or upper-class drunks. There were suggestions that treatment of alcoholics be standardized through careful development and application of departmental policies (Matejicka, 1963).

Recent literature has begun paying more attention to the role departmental policies play in treating drunks. Several studies have argued that the only time police should become involved in handling drunks is in transporting them to treatment facilities (Pittman, 1975; ICMA, 1975). For referral to be successful, policies must be realistic and overtly stated so that officers will know what actions are expected of them.

Because of their discretionary powers, Ottenberg and Carpey (1974) suggest that police implement detailed and specific policies for handling public drunks. Most authors favor instructing officers to refer drunks to voluntary detoxification centers for treatment (Nimmer, 1971; but see Owens, 1973, who indicates that police prefer to refer drunks to involuntary programs). Nimmer argued that while most police referral programs were voluntary in word, if not in spirit, obtaining a truly voluntary system of alcoholic treatment would require eliminating police from the referral process. He concluded that agencies encouraging officer coercion of drunks discourage the benefits of treatment (Nimmer, 1971).

Although departments implement different policies for handling drunks, their scope is limited by state laws. In several states that have decriminalized public intoxication, arrests of drunks have fallen far below previous levels. Yet in practice police can circumvent the new laws by several methods, including arresting drunks for disorderly conduct. Few departments have established criteria for deciding when disorderly conduct associated with drinking warrants arrest and prosecution. Disposition of public inebriates remains the province of the individual officer; it is doubtful that even state laws can dictate departmental policy in this matter.

Literature about effects of police referral policy on domestic crisis intervention does not discuss policy in general, but concentrates on one particular policy: the requirement that officers attend crisis intervention training courses. Handling crisis situations is one duty where officer discretion is likely to supercede all but the most general departmental policies. Administrative decisions to train officers in techniques of conflict management, mediation, and psychological counseling represent the primary policy choice for crisis intervention referrals.

A key issue is the role for which training prepares officers. The problem of role conflict -- the discrepancy between officers' expected roles and those actually required -- receives considerable attention. Entry-level training usually highlights officers' law enforcement role at the expense of their service role; training curricula emphasize the danger of the job and reinforce the hard-line image of the police officer. Training often superficially discusses community relations, referral systems, victims' rights and needs, self-awareness, crisis intervention, and the importance of knowing the characteristics of the community one serves (Sandler, 1975; Farmer and Kowalewski, 1976). There has been little police training and few attempts to increase police effectiveness in handling domestic crisis situations (Barocas, 1974). "Few police officers have the behavioral science training necessary for effective family crisis intervention" (Driscoll, Meyer, and Schanie, 1973: 64). Parnas (1967) notes that training applicable to family crisis calls usually focuses on means of minimizing officers' physical danger rather than on how to best resolve the crisis.

Officers are aware of weaknesses in basic training programs. In a study of different training curricula officers were asked to rank aspects of their training that should receive greater attention in future course designs. Areas most commonly mentioned were public and community relations, handling emotionally charged situations, basic psychology, abnormal psychology (particularly etiology), local problems, and sociology (Engle, 1974).

Policies emphasizing crisis intervention techniques in training may have a practical advantage for both the department and the community. Bard (1975) suggests that police and social service agencies share responsibility for intervening in conflicts and crises. Others suggest that proper training may help reduce hazards to police intervening in domestic disputes. Of the 786 officers killed in the United States between 1963 and 1973, 103 (13 percent) were responding to domestic disturbance calls (Goldstein, Monti, Sardino, and Green, 1977). Mills (1973) reports that 22 percent of all police fatalities, and up to 40 percent of all police injuries, occur while officers are arbitrating disputes. Barocas (1974) sees intervention training as a possible means of relieving the personnel shortage in the community mental health fields, as well as contributing substantially to crime prevention by reducing the high recidivism rate among disputing families. Policies establishing effective psychological training should have a positive influence on general police performance and prevention of violence.

Among the major research projects examining effects of training policies on police referral are Bard's study of the Family Crisis Intervention Unit (FCIU) in New York City and a follow-up study conducted in Louisville by Driscoll, Meyer, and Schanie. In the pioneering New York project 18 patrol officers received special training in handling domestic crises. After training they were assigned to a 24-hour team handling all crisis calls within a single precinct; when not answering crisis calls they patrolled their regular beats. The FCIU car was equipped with files of all previous family crisis calls, descriptions of incidents and actions taken, a directory of available community resources and special referral forms designed to make it easier for citizens to receive referral services (Bard, 1970b).

Bard's findings demonstrated that increased training in crisis intervention techniques resulted in increased numbers of referred citizens actually contacting community agencies for assistance. Citizens referred by trained FCIU officers were more likely to contact social service agencies than were citizens referred by non-trained officers. FCIU officers also made referrals to a wider range of agencies and received fewer injuries from citizen assaults than did other officers. Bard concluded that specialized training enabled officers to diffuse potentially violent situations. Officers were not converted to social workers or psychologists; rather, they were trained to make themselves more effective in their job. The training emphasized the generalist/specialist role of FCIU officers, a concept Bard argued was applicable to a variety of specialized police units, including the juvenile bureau (Bard, 1970b).

Driscoll, Meyer, and Schanie established a project in Louisville to test hypotheses similar to those examined by Bard. The Louisville program differed from the one in New York in that officers were selected for training on a random basis, disregarding apparent interest or aptitude in handling domestic crises. Trained officers were assigned to regular duty and did not remain with a special unit. Evaluation included interviews with officers and citizens served, as well as the crime rate and recidivism criteria used by Bard (Driscoll, Meyer, and Schanie, 1973).

The Louisville study emphasized methods of evaluating crisis intervention training projects; its authors felt that Bard's evaluation relied too heavily on crime statistics, which alone were insufficient to judge training's effects. They argued that if intervention was an acceptable police task, then the program should be measured against criteria relating to the conduct of the service (i.e., through contacting the citizens served). Although the sample of persons referred by the Louisville project was extremely small, it reached conclusions similar to those of the New York project. Bard found that 9.6 percent of referred citizens actually contacted a social service agency for assistance, compared to 14 percent in Louisville. In both cases training was deemed a success, although rates of citizens contacting community agencies were low. Neither study compared referral rates under the crisis intervention project with referral rates for similar cases prior to project inception.

With the demand for changes in police training curricula came a corresponding demand for changes in format. Several authors note the necessity of combining principles from several fields when teaching techniques of domestic crisis intervention. They suggest that traditional classroom training is insufficient for teaching necessary mediation and counseling skills. A combination of educational styles is required to teach personal interaction methods, basic social science principles, and role-playing (Bard, 1970b, 1971; Driscoll, Meyer, and Schanie, 1973; Barocas, 1974; Coffey, 1974b; and Goldstein, Monti, Sardino, and Green, 1977).

The Rochester (NY) Family Crisis Intervention Team (FACIT), inaugurated in June 1974, paralleled the training approaches of other intervention projects. It included extensive training in intervention techniques, use of experienced consultants to assist in curriculum development, and use of video-taped, open-ended dramatic skits. The program also called for police to acquire a working knowledge of available community resources appropriate to client needs and development of referral procedures (Hill, 1974).

Not all experts believe dramatic changes in training methods will improve officers' ability to handle domestic crises. An intervention program in Oakland, California, was designed around the theory that police officers do not need intense, lengthy training sessions to respond effectively to domestic crisis calls. With a minimum of training they can rely on judgment and experience (Parnas, 1971). The St. Louis County (Missouri) Police Department reported that limited lectures refocused officers' attention on attempted suicides. A Chicago Police Department Training Bulletin suggests methods for handling domestic disturbances:

> You can usually adjust the situation by giving a common sense explanation to all parties involved or by referring the complainant to the proper agency or by advising them to consult their own attorney (Parnas, 1967: 919).

Yet Chicago patrol officers were not provided any specific referral information to help them fulfill this function.

## Hypothesis 2: Police Agency Structure and Organization

Research into the effects of organizational and structural variables on police referral has been minimal. Factors such as agency size, command structure, hierarchy, specialization, and decentralization all seem likely to affect officers' decisions to refer. Presence of internal units capable of handling referrals -- a juvenile bureau, a social work team, a family crisis intervention unit, or a combination youth aid officer-civilian counselor unit -- could all influence referral decisions and expected outcomes.

Wilson (1968a) is one of the few experts to deal directly with effects of police juvenile bureau organization on likelihood of referral. He suggests that differing patterns of organization and police styles affect juvenile processing. His two-city study examines effects of professionalism and community attachment on juvenile case dispositions. A professional department is one governed by:

> values derived from general, impersonal rules which bind all members of the organization and whose relevance is independent of circumstances of time, place, or personality. A nonprofessional department (fraternal) relies to a greater extent on particularistic judgments . . . The professional department looks outward to universal, externally valid, enduring standards; the nonprofessional department looks inward at the informal standards of a special group and distributes rewards and penalties according to how well a member conforms to them (Wilson, 1968a: 107).

Wilson concludes that police professionalization is antithetical to the objective of referral -- keeping youths away from courts.

Professional officers are educated and come from different backgrounds than the juveniles they handle. Officers cannot identify with juvenile problems, tend to seek court petition instead of focusing on causes of juveniles' problems, and urge restrictive rather than therapeutic measures. The professional department is highly bureaucratized; organizational rules are implemented to ensure that officers behave properly in nondiscretionary matters. Officers in this department tend to treat juveniles according to rules and without regard for individual and situational differences. They make twice as many juvenile contacts as officers in the fraternal department, and petition almost twice as many juveniles to court; these differences are not attributable to crime rates, but to departmental style.

In the centralized, professional department record-keeping is extremely detailed and officers are likely to convert discretionary matters into nondiscretionary matters by treating juveniles according to a strict interpretation of departmental rules. Other organizational factors such as assignment of juvenile officers to precincts, length of stay in precincts, frequency of group meetings, and types of records kept, also strongly influence officer activities and referral decisions. Departments that assign all juvenile officers to a single office, schedule regular group meetings, emphasize continual in-service training, and require uniform and detailed records are more likely to have high frequencies of contact with juveniles. In departments where juvenile officers work separately out of precinct stations, meet together infrequently, do not receive continual training, and are not required to keep careful records, unofficial contacts are more likely to result in referral.

Wilson's study points out two problems in assessing effects of departmental organization on referral activities. First, by concentrating on the juvenile bureau, Wilson did not examine a primary source of referrals: patrolmen in the field. Juvenile officers may make referrals, but they also receive them from patrol officers (internal referral). Second, Wilson focused on formal referrals only and most were to juvenile court. Informal information exchanges or referrals to community agencies were not discussed. From Wilson's findings we can hypothesize that in professional departments the likelihood of police referral is directly related to the existence of formally sanctioned referral systems: written agreements with acceptable community agencies, or carefully planned chains of referral from patrol officers to the juvenile bureau. In the absence of such systems we would expect professional, centralized departments to make few referrals. Decentralized, fraternal departments, however, will probably make many more referrals even without a formal system. Referrals from officers in these departments are likely to be informal and voluntary, with little or no coercion involved.

Sundeen (1972) tested Wilson's thesis that professionalization was negatively related to police referral rates for juvenile offenders. He developed a professionalization scale and assigned scores to each of 47 departments in Los Angeles County. He found no significant relationship between his scale and frequency of juvenile diversion. Weiner and Willie (1971), in attempting to explain why their data failed to indicate a racial bias in case dispositions, concluded that a norm of fairness existed in juvenile bureaus through "organizational expectancies." These expectancies negated inherent biases of juvenile officers; bureau organization created norms that affected case disposition to a greater degree than did attitudes and perceptions of individual officers.

Other organizational factors, such as presence or absence of a specialized juvenile unit, affect police referral decisions. Departments with no such unit are much more likely to seek court petitions (see Wilbanks, 1975: 23). Kahn's study of the New York City Police Department's Juvenile Aid Bureau indicated that the JAB refered fewer cases to community agencies than to its own Internal Service Unit. The Service Unit investigated a juvenile's home situation, then decided to either drop the case, petition it to court, or establish a series of supervisory visits to the juvenile's home (Kahn, 1951c).

In a study of 37 police departments around Los Angeles, Klein and Teilmann (1976) found a positive relationship between establishment of in-house diversion programs and addition of new police divisions and staff. In-house programs were also associated with optimism about program effects. Most departments studied had initiated diversion efforts as a result of the inducement of outside funding; these programs did not result in as many structural changes in the departments.

In departments with no juvenile bureau, police occasionally employ referral as a means of case disposition yet favor other non-judicial methods. Adams contends that in about half of all cases in which a juvenile is detained, he is released to his parents (Adams, 1968). Other studies support this finding (Ellingston, 1948; Shannon, 1963; Black and Reiss, 1970; Gold, 1970; American Correctional Association, 1972; Kelley, Schulman, and Lynch, 1976). Goldman (1969) notes that not all apprehended juveniles are directed to court, nor do they always appear on police records. This has important implications for structuring police agencies. First, the number of reported police-juvenile contacts may be a function of agency record-keeping systems; some systems more accurately reflect the number of actual contacts. Second, the number of persons referred by police who actually contact an agency is difficult to determine if referrals are informal and unrecorded.

Another organizational factor receiving little attention is agency size. In smaller departments it is common for a patrolman or detective to assume the duties of a juvenile aid officer in addition to his regular tasks. There is no research on how this arrangement affects referral; because these officers may have inadequate training and too little time to properly handle each case, they may be more likely than other officers to refer. Conversely, almost all larger departments have established either a separate juvenile bureau or have assigned specific officers to juvenile cases. Cicourel (1968), one of the few to examine the effects of size on referral, concluded that departments with large juvenile units tend to be more formal than those with small units, and therefore have lower diversion rates. He also noted that referral rates vary according to whether a department is centrally located or has juvenile officers based in each precinct. He found that centrally located units were more isolated from the community and had lower diversion rates.

Klein (1973) emphasizes that while the original intention of referral systems was to prevent juvenile delinquency, likelihood of referral may be influenced by practical problems in policing such as officer discretion, departmental prosecutorial policies, and rigidity of chain of command. Problems within an organization, such as whether or not witness fees are paid to policemen, are also important. Goldman (1969) found that juveniles were more likely to be petitioned to court when officers received fees for serving as witnesses in juvenile court cases; when officers appeared on their own time, likelihood of court petition dropped. Similarly, Wilson (1968a) found juvenile units less inclined to send cases to court when officers had to be involved in the case up to the moment that the judge determined disposition.

Organizational structure is crucial in designing referral systems. If police can maintain control over referral programs and clients, they are more likely to adopt referral as a means of case disposition. Klein, et al. (1976: 113-114) listed six structural means by which police might maintain this control:

- In-house counselors: they may be police officers, private counselors on the police payroll, probation officers, or public agency counselors. Clients are treated in the police milieu.

- Police-based agency: a referral setting which is established by, or in close collaboration with, the police and staffed by at least some police personnel. This agency may be located on or off departmental premises. Police are very visible in the referral process; referral does not mean "escape" from the justice system.

- Selected referral resources: police exercise considerable control by determining what agencies are selected to receive referrals. Preference is usually for a professional agency staffed with trained psychologists, agencies willing to keep police informed about client progress. The latter can be accomplished by formal or informal means.

- Purchase of service: police often purchase the service of community agencies for treatment of offenders. Fees are often arranged on a performance basis; if the client does not recidivate within a specified time, the agency receives an additional stipend over that arranged for a particular number of visits or number of hours of treatment. This means that treatment is often dictated to a large extent by police agency preferences.

- Program orientation: police often take a proactive role in seeking funds to establish particular types of programs, especially if they feel existing agencies or resources are insufficient. There is then little police inclination to turn over control to others.

- The directorate: police often sit on the governing boards of referral programs and they usually have considerable authority.

The authors noted that existence of in-house programs is positively associated with program initiation inside the department. Internal development usually leads to structural changes as program personnel and equipment are accommodated. External programs usually yield fewer structural changes and involve referral to outside agencies. The largest inducement for establishing external referral projects is government funding (Klein, et al., 1976: 116-117).

Since literature on public drunkenness has focused on removing the criminal aspects of alcoholism, few publications have discussed internal police agency structure and its effects on referral. Prior to the movement for external referral of inebriates to detoxification centers, there was discussion of internal referral to treatment facilities within jails (Bacon, 1949). This differed from current discussions of referral not only in the internal placement of rehabilitation facilities, but because decriminalization was not considered; public inebriation was still regarded as a crime rather than an illness. Eighteen years later detoxification within decriminalized systems was recommended (President's Commission, 1967c)

By the 1970s literature had changed from recommending that police provide all services for apprehended alcoholics to suggesting that departments act as brokers between inebriates and community-provided services. Zylman (1971) stated that a liaison within the police department was required to coordinate and refer alcoholics to appropriate community counseling and information services. Stratton (1973) suggested that if police were to base their programs on alcoholics' needs, rather than on ease of administration, a formal police unit for referral and cooperation with community rehabilitative services was necessary. A similar suggestion was proposed at the Sixth Eagleville conference; participants recommended that each police precinct be staffed by a trained evaluator who would identify inebriates in need of treatment and choose the type of treatment required (Ottenberg and Carpey, 1974).

Literature on police intervention into domestic crises is linked to police agency structure and organization more than is literature on juveniles and inebriates. Much of the intervention literature discusses proposals for implementing domestic crisis units within existing departmental structure. Parnas noted that:

> since the initial responsibility for responding to domestic disturbance calls appears to remain with the police, changes within and without the department appear necessary to more effectively deal with this problem (Parnas, 1967: 956-957).

One of the first proposals actually implemented was Bard's plan for a Family Crisis Intervention Unit (FCIU) within the New York City Police Department. Bard felt that change in departmental structure would improve police performance to the advantage of both the department and the public. He stressed that the police role in crisis intervention should be added to regular duties of patrol officers. A specialized unit established exclusively to handle domestic disturbances could soon become isolated and divided from the remainder of the department; officers in the unit could become alienated and lose the confidence and respect of other officers. In the pilot program, Bard made certain that the 18 officers picked for training in intervention techniques were assigned to regular patrol duties when not handling crisis calls (Bard, 1970b).

Alexander disagreed with Bard and joined the President's Commission report in recommending specialization. Officers were categorized as "police agents," "police officers," and "community service officers." Under this division of labor, "specialization will permit a more efficient use of manpower by encouraging officers to develop skills at which they are most adept" (Alexander, 1971: 44). An alternative form of organization is the establishment of a 24-hour referral service within a department. Either sworn, specialized officers trained in crisis counseling or nonpolice mental health professionals could staff such a unit around the clock (Goldstein, Monti, Sardino, and Green, 1977).

Silverman and Silverman (1973) feel it is imperative that police have continuous referral resources at their disposal to handle crisis situations. They recommend employing an officer or other trained professional as a social service coordinator for the department. In a Dayton (OH) project, the service coordinator's job was to establish a referral system, follow through on referrals made, and report back to the initiating officer. The authors propose that this plan would save time and provide expenses necessary to train _all_ officers in using community resources while at the same time improving service to citizens. They also believe that implementation of a referral system within a department will promote a positive public image and improve police-community relations (Silverman and Silverman, 1973).

Another major organizational thesis has been tested by Treger and his associates (1972a; 1976b; 1974). A team of nonsworn social workers was placed within several Illinois police departments. Working on a 24-hour basis, the unit received referrals from field officers, counseled citizens, intervened in crisis situations, and made further referrals to community agencies when warranted. The social work team was designed to provide immediate service for people in crisis, improve police-community relations, and help alleviate court overload by providing officers with an alternative to arrest. Prior to program implementation Treger found that officers were generally unable to identify most community social agencies and were unlikely to make many referrals. Most cases were sent to court. After the team was well established, figures showed that the number of cases sent to juvenile court had drastically decreased. A similar study by Treger (1972a) demonstrated that after implementation of a social work team, police made more referrals.

Sandler argued that crisis intervention programs:

> cannot be appended to police organizations. Rather, they must be assimilated into these organizations. That is, they must be examined for their philosophical and behavioral implications and then reinforced at every point in the organizational structure (Sandler, 1975: 35).

Sandler was concerned with establishing the organizational supports necessary to sustain and integrate crisis intervention programs. She approached the problem from the perspective of innovation management and organizational change. Managing innovation required four steps: analysis of the philosophical and behavioral goals and implications of the program; analysis of existing organization and its consistency with the program; analysis of key points of resistance and blockages within the organization; and introduction of necessary organizational program supports (Sandler, 1975: 36).

To meet crisis intervention program goals, officers must be generalists/specialists skilled in human relations and psychological intervention. This implies a clinical rather than an adversary approach to policing and a shift from a procedural, authoritarian, military model of organization to one focusing on human and community relations. The centralized command structure, hierarchical communication of orders, rigid superior-subordinate relationships, and impersonality of the military organization are dysfunctional for departments concerned with promoting human relations. "A police officer can only do on the outside (public contacts) what his organization reinforces him for doing on the inside" (Sandler, 1975: 38).

Departments with a paramilitary management style are viewed as blocking effective implementation of domestic crisis intervention programs.

Sandler lists areas that can become sources of organizational support for new programs and can also reduce officers' role conflict created by contradictory expectations. Recruitment and selection of new officers can have immense impact on organizational texture; selection procedures should take the total police role into account. Training is also important to crisis intervention goals, as it must deal with the total police role. Training must be reinforced by a performance evaluation system that recognizes goals of crisis management programs; this implies an expansion of traditional evaluative criteria to include quality of follow-up investigations, nature of complaints, and changes in assault statistics. All of these criteria emphasize the importance of communications skills, community knowledge, flexibility, and decision-making ability. Crisis management programs must reward community service and ability to defuse potential violence. Finally, program managers must possess flexibility and professional judgment. They must create a consistent set of expectations for officers involved in handling domestic crisis situations (Sandler, 1975: 40-42).

Nearly all advocates of police intervention into domestic crises have recommended that officers hand a referral form to each individual contacted. The form would contain the name of the agency to which they were being referred, its location, and other pertinent information. Advantages in this procedure are seen both for departmental recordkeeping and for clients. The form could serve not only as an introduction to the referral agency but as a "contract" between officers and citizens reinforcing the importance of client contact and police follow-up (Bard, 1970b; Murphy, Clendenin, Darvish, and Robins, 1971; Driscoll, Meyer, and Schanie, 1973; and Bard, 1975).

## Hypothesis 3: Community Social Service Agencies

Availability of community social service agencies obviously affects likelihood of police referral of juveniles. Without these agencies, external referral is impossible; if they are available only during certain hours, referral is possible but unlikely. Norman (1972) indicates that police officers often send problem juveniles to court whenever intervention is necessary and community social service agencies are unavailable to provide it. Chamelin (1975) agrees that likelihood of referral will be influenced by availability of community agencies both inside and outside police departments. When community referral resources are meager, screening for diversion is a meaningless, mechanical process (Kelley, Schulman, and Lynch, 1976). The American Correctional Association lists cooperation between police and community groups as crucial to diversion (ACA, 1972).

The extent and quality of services provided by social agencies also affects likelihood of police referral of juveniles. Kahn (1951c) points to the perceived time lag between referral and contact by community agencies as an important influence on police actions. Community agencies often make only perfunctory efforts to contact juveniles and police seldom follow up on referred cases to make sure contact has been established (Myren and Swanson, 1962). Complicated procedures, lengthy waiting lists, extent and quality of case follow-up, training of agency employees, and inadequate agency manpower also affect referral (Myren and Swanson, 1962; Piliavin and Briar, 1964; Klein, 1971; Kelley, Schulman, and Lynch, 1976).

One factor influencing officers' decisions to refer to external agencies is the presence of internal, specialized units. Cressey and McDermott (1973) suggest that where appropriate external agencies are unavailable or nonexistent, police will develop internal referral practices. Kahn's (1951c) study of the Juvenile Aid Bureau (JAB) in New York City indicated that juvenile officers referred fewer cases to outside agencies than to the JAB. Officer perceptions of referral agencies were an important determinant of their use of community agencies.

Dash contends that likelihood of referral is unrelated to availability of community agencies. In many instances cases may be diverted without sending offenders to any treatment or rehabilitation program (Dash, 1974). Even when resources are available, they may not be used. Police have a narrow view of appropriate referral agencies. Sundeen (1972) found that sometimes juvenile officers did not use available referral resources because of ignorance of their existence or suspicion of their appropriateness or effectiveness. Klein (as reported in Wilbanks, 1975: 25) found that juvenile officers negatively perceived free clinics and other informal drug treatment facilities with volunteer staffs. His evidence indicates that officers will refer only to agencies that appear professionally organized. However, Sundeen and

Klein discuss juvenile officers; that they would hold negative views of agencies they might perceive as competitors is not surprising. Neither author researched opinions of patrol officers.

Wilbanks' (1975) supported Sundeen's contention that failure to refer is often the result of a lack of knowledge of available resources or a belief in ineffectiveness of referral agencies. He confirmed Sundeen's belief that police will refer only to "professional" community agencies. Juvenile officers "seem to prefer agencies within the formal juvenile justice system or [agencies which are] at least a part of local or state government" (Wilbanks, 1975: 179). Most officers indicated a preference for agencies providing psychological or psychiatric evaluation. Referrals increased noticeably when a referral coordinator was available to the department. Liaison agents provide feedback about the progress of treatment to officers handling the case. They relieve officers from making decisions about the appropriate agency in any particular case and save them from having to initiate follow-through. The Youth Services Bureau is one example of a liaison agency (Wilbanks, 1975: 106).

Literature on alcoholic referral strongly supports the Pennsylvania Crime Commission's position that intoxication should remain a criminal offense until an alternative system -- primarily detoxification programs coordinated and controlled by public health officials -- is established (Pennsylvania Crime Commission, 1969; Correctional Association of New York, 1975). The underlying assumption is that incarceration of drunks is tolerable, but detoxification is preferable. Nimmer (1971) disagrees and does not believe that removal of public inebriates from the criminal justice system is dependent upon the establishment of alternative treatment systems. The system of arrest and detention is worse than no system at all. Nimmer does agree, however, that if statutes require detoxification rather than dismissal there should be sufficient facilities to handle all apprehended alcoholics (Nimmer, 1971).

Both existence and effectiveness of social service facilities are associated with likelihood of referral. Gammage and Sachs (1971) suggest that programs be external, but under police sponsorship and control. They argue that police control would produce facilities whose methods were in line with those sanctioned by police. Data from an Oxnard (CA) survey of police officers support the belief that perceived program effectiveness affects officers' attitudes toward referral. Officers were more willing to place inebriates in only those detoxification facilities they regarded effective in providing long-term, involuntary treatment (Owens, 1973). Goldstein agrees, stating that:

> The inability of various service agencies to carry out the tasks that the police are led to expect from them can be fatal to a program in which referral is the major element. Police stop using alternatives that appear to them not to accomplish anything, and they revert to improvising responses as they have done in the past (Goldstein, 1977: 84-85).

In another study, nine police chiefs complained that there were not enough detoxification facilities in their communities to handle drunks; their perception was supported by the opinions of inebriates undergoing treatment (Rubington, 1975). St. Petersburg

(FL) Police Department crime statistics from 1975 confirm that detoxification facilities are scarce; as a result nearly 7,000 public inebriates were jailed rather than treated even though drunkenness was decriminalized in 1971.

Several authors note that police agencies are well suited to handling domestic crises (Cumming, Cumming, and Edell, 1965; Furstenberg and Wellford, 1973; Irwin, 1974; and Treger, Thomson, and Jaeck, 1974). But they and others add that police are not always the most effective resource agency (Aguilera and Messick, 1974; Coffey, 1974b). Aguilera and Messick (1974) compare police crisis intervention services with those of mental health agencies; they find that when police are not trained to deal with crisis calls, or when they need to provide more help than their resources permit, referral should be their primary alternative. Coffey (1974b) suggests that police emergency services are greatly improved by the availability of outside resources.

Police officers often welcome help from skilled social service agencies, but usually have little knowledge of agencies that provide counseling to individuals involved in domestic crises (Cumming, Cumming, and Edell, 1965; Treger, 1972a, 1976b). Coffey (1974b) suggests that police refer to clergy, doctors, psychiatrists, psychologists, and school and marriage counselors, noting that welfare agencies can often provide police with community resource directories. Bard states that most mental health services are unknown to people most in need of their services -- lower income, poorly educated families. He recommends that police use domestic crisis calls as an opportunity to introduce these families to appropriate community social service resources.

Service agencies are often overburdened, making it difficult to assume the added case load of police referrals. Bard (1970b) reports that, with minor exceptions, agencies in New York City could not adapt their policies and practices to demands made on them by the FCIU. The 8-hour agency workday is poorly suited to the 24-hour demands of domestic crises. Liebman and Schwartz (1973) note that not only are the police the only agency equipped to deal with violence that often accompanies family disputes, but that community agencies lack sufficient manpower, expertise, and desire to deal with violence. Hours of operation are short and training is poor. Even more importantly, citizens often distrust mental health professionals or are unaware of their services.

Several authors feel that social agencies need to make adjustments in providing community services. Farmer and Kowalewski recommend that communities work together in planning and implementing social service programs. They cite a number of programs that have taken this approach and suggest that mutual planning results in better service to clients (Liebman and Schwartz, 1973; Kowalewski, 1975; Farmer and Kowalewski, 1976). Bard (1975) affirms the need for creating and maintaining a functional relationship between community social agencies and the police -- what he calls a "referral network" -- and emphasizes the necessity for police to obtain feedback from referral agencies. Driscoll, Meyer and Schanie (1973) also recommend formal procedures and organization, but suggest using established crisis centers that provide referral and follow-up services.

Most literature concludes that whether or not police *should be* concerned with social service calls, the fact that they *are* indicates that community agencies are not providing necessary services. Various methods of organization have been suggested for remedying the situation, including appending internal social service agencies to police departments, giving police more input into, or control over, external referral resources, providing police officers and citizens with more detailed and useful information about existing social service resources, and establishing new (or improving existing) communication systems between police and social service agencies.

## Hypothesis 4: Police Officer Characteristics

Given the high degree of officer discretion and the usual lack of firm departmental guidelines, several authors have suggested that officer attributes and attitudes directly affect likelihood of referral. Though numerous experts have recognized the importance of individual officer attitudes in determining referral, few have studied them systematically (Duxbury, 1973; Klein, 1973). Most literature concentrates on two officer characteristics: their opinions of police social service provision and the extent and influence of their social service training.

As noted previously, some officers consider social service work a waste of their time and skills, an illegitimate aspect of police work, or simply a nuisance (Bard, 1970a; Cummins, 1970; Parnas, 1971; Driscoll, Meyer, and Schanie, 1973; Rubington, 1975). It has even been suggested that some officers may become so frustrated at what they perceive as an overconcentration on social services that they are driven out of the profession (President's Commission, 1967a).

Few empirical studies support speculations about officer attitudes and their influence on case disposition. One, McEachern and Bauzer's (1967) study of the Santa Monica (CA) Police Department, showed that likelihood of juvenile referral varies among officers: some officers were more likely to request petitions to juvenile courts than others, regardless of the alleged offense. Goldman's (1969) study of more than 1,000 juveniles arrested in Allegheny County (PA) indicated that differential selection of juveniles for court appearance was based upon officer attitudes. Officers' decisions were influenced by attitudes toward police roles, juveniles, parents, perceived offenses, and courts. Wilson's (1968a) two-city study revealed that officers were less likely to arrest juveniles if they thought the case was of little consequence or would not hold up in court.

Piliavin and Briar (1964) indicated that police formed stereotypes of delinquent youths and decided cases on the basis of those stereotypes: juveniles who were scruffy and poorly dressed were more frequently stopped and interrogated by patrol officers than clean, neatly dressed youths. The neater the offender's appearance, the greater his chance for referral. Cicourel's (1968) study of police and probation officers also examined how case disposition was affected by officer categorization of juveniles. Juveniles were considered delinquent on the basis of officers' expectations of their politeness, sincerity, and family situation.

Wilbanks identified four variables related to referral decisions: nature of the offense, characteristics of the offender, departmental policy or organization, and availability of community social service agencies. How the officer perceives these variables is the important factor. "All four categories have one common unifying thread -- they have to be filtered through the perception of individual officers in the juvenile units" (Wilbanks, 1975: 26). Officer perceptions determined the importance of these four variables; properly stated, the variables are the officer's perception of the nature of the offense, perception of the characteristics of offender, perception of departmental policy or organization, and perception of the availability of community social service agencies. Wilbanks examined officer perceptions of departmental policy, arguing that this would produce data more useful to policymakers than that derived from studies of the other three variables. He found, however, that officer policy perceptions make little difference to referral decisions.

The second major characteristic influencing officer attitudes toward referral is the amount of social service training they receive. Coffey (1974b) argued that police should not engage in counseling citizens, and that training officers in crisis intervention methods would enable them to make more appropriate referrals. McGee stated that because officers are not trained to handle domestic crisis calls, they should refer as many cases as possible to crisis intervention centers. If police perceive centers to be staffed by competent professionals they will probably refer more frequently than if they perceive the staffs to be incompetent (McGee, 1974).

Parnas (1967) supports Coffey and McGee, suggesting that police should receive more training and refer cases to competent agencies as often as possible. He also suggested that most officers favor temporary adjustment of disputes rather than arrest. Lengthy training sessions are not required to teach police proper crisis management techniques; common sense and proper attitudes, acquired through experience, are the most realistic and effective methods (Parnas, 1971).

Sandler and di Grazia (1976) note that police training in crisis intervention is poor. Formal training is less important than peer attitudes toward referral, which dictate officers' decisions in the field. Bard (1975) argued that referral is appropriate only if officers are adequately trained and have a working knowledge of available community resources.

In discussing juvenile referral, authors have often linked officer training to "professional" police attitudes. Using number of years of education, number of friends on the police force, and membership in police officer associations as his criteria for professionalization, Sundeen concluded that training increased officer professionalization, but lessened the probability that officers would refer.

Officers in professional departments followed certain norms and adopted more formal, legalistic methods of case disposition. Officers who were less professional, but more attached to their communities, were more likely to refer. (Sundeen, 1974a, 1974b).

Most studies of police professionalism deal with juvenile case dispositions other than referral. They find that the more training an officer receives, the greater the perceived competence in handling juvenile cases and the less the perceived value of referral (Gibbons, 1970; Wilson, 1968a; Brown, 1973). Wilson's research indicated professional training had a direct effect on juvenile handling: the more professional the officer the less discrimination in handling, but the more severe the disposition. The professional officer directed more juveniles to court than did the nonprofessional. The less professional the officer, the greater the empathy for juveniles and the greater the likelihood of referral (Wilson, 1968a).

Cumming, Cumming, and Edell (1965) synthesized arguments on professionalism and referral by stating that rather than increasing referral, professionalism increases the likelihood that training will include methods of dealing with social service provision and will equip the officer with social work skills. Gibbons and Blake (1976) took the opposite viewpoint, arguing that creation of diversion or referral programs altered traditional officer practices and attitudes; if referral systems exist, officers will use them -- especially if they perceive them as effective in helping clients.

Unlike most literature on juvenile and domestic crisis referral, alcoholic referral literature does not discuss effects of officer attitudes and characteristics. It mentions the effects of training and focuses on officers' knowledge of the etiology of alcoholism and their awareness of available community services.

Although opinions that police should be trained in handling drunks and in using community treatment centers were expressed before efforts to decriminalize public intoxication (Matejicka, 1963), most literature has followed legal and social changes. The Task Force on Drunkenness (President's Commission, 1967c) recommended ending incarceration and called for additional police training. Emphasis on training was fostered by opinions that the shift away from the criminal justice system and toward detoxification centers had significant impact on police procedures; officers needed training and preparation to understand the new system (Nimmer, 1971; Zylman, 1971; Goldstein, 1977). Police had to be taught to recognize and treat alcoholism as a disease rather than as a crime. Acceptance of referral of drunks to treatment centers depended on program management, with police favoring long-term detention of inebriates (Owens, 1973). Police attitudes toward skid-row drunks had in the past led them to make unnecessary arrests in attempting to resolve social problems (Pittman, 1975).

The underlying assumption of most recent literature is that disposition of public inebriates is dependent on officers' understanding of the problem: once officers know the etiology of alcoholism, they will prefer referral to arrest. In Oxnard (CA) knowledge of alcoholism and of treatment centers increased officer willingness to refer (Owens, 1973). A study conducted on a Navaho reservation indicated that increased police awareness led to favorable attitudes toward referral (Stratton, 1973). Piper and Rivers (1975) found that with increased knowledge of the needs and problems of drunks (obtained largely through training) officers began to lose their feeling of "helplessness" when dealing with public inebriates and made more referrals to treatment facilities.

## Hypothesis 5: Characteristics of the Offender

Characteristics of offenders often predict officers' referral decisions. Few studies discuss attributes of citizens who call the police for services, victims of crime, or complainants in criminal cases. The literature on characteristics of juvenile offenders is much larger than that on either public inebriates or persons involved in domestic disputes. Much of it is based on empirical data. Much of it discusses how offenders' characteristics affect court disposition. (For a brief review of some of these studies, see Cohen, 1975a.) Six variables are repeatedly mentioned as important to the referral decision: offenders' race, age, sex, demeanor, prior record, and family background or socioeconomic status. Although data is extensive, researchers disagree in their interpretations.

Sociologists have argued that race affects disposition by juvenile officers, but results of empirical studies on police referral conflict. Most evidence indicates no relationship when other factors are controlled. Goldman found that more Black children than White children were sent to juvenile court, but that Black children had committed more serious offenses and had a larger number of previous contacts with police. Goldman suggested that seriousness of offense and prior record explained his findings, but did not institute controls and examine the separate effects of race (Goldman, 1969).

Other authors have attempted to control for seriousness of offense and prior record to assess the independent effects of race. Terry (1967) found that race did not significantly affect juvenile officers' decisions to refer delinquents; only 1.7 percent of Blacks and 1.4 percent of Mexican-Americans were referred to social or welfare agencies, compared with 2.1 percent of Whites. Terry, however, concentrated on the impact of race on number of juveniles sent to court. In their study of more than 1,000 juvenile cases drawn from the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department's Central Juvenile Index, McEachern and Bauzer (1967) found no evidence of consistent and systematic differences in juvenile case dispositions by race. Shannon (1963), in a study of more than 4,500 juveniles apprehended by the Madison (WI) Police Department, found no racial bias in referral or court petition. Weiner and Willie (1971) also found no significant correlation between case disposition and race in studies of police-juvenile contacts in Washington (DC) and Syracuse (NY).

Thornberry's study of a cohort of over 3,000 boys in Philadelphia contradicts these findings. He examined dispositions of White and Black offenders at several criminal juvenile decision points, including police, and concluded that:

> the data reveal that blacks are treated more severely than whites throughout the juvenile justice system. At the levels of the police and juvenile court there are no deviations from this finding, even when the seriousness of the offense and the number of previous offenses are simultaneously held constant (Thornberry, 1973: 95).

Thornberry was primarily concerned with court petition. He found no differences in methodology, sample, time period, or areas studied that would account for his results contradicting those of earlier studies. He speculated that controlling only for seriousness and recidivism, and not for demeanor, family life, or attitude of the victim, might have created the observed race-disposition relationship. Yet previous studies had also controlled only for seriousness of offense and recidivism. While the absence of additional controls limits the impact of his findings, it does not explain the discrepancy between Thornberry's study and its predecessors (Thornberry, 1973).

Other studies have found that race affects disposition. Piliavin and Briar (1964) looked at the impact of juvenile demeanor on case disposition and concluded that race influenced referral decisions. Black and Reiss focused on demeanor, but found a higher arrest rate among Black than White juveniles. Because Blacks were more likely to commit serious offenses leading to their higher arrest rate, there was no evidence of systematic police discrimination against Black youth (Black and Reiss, 1970).

Age of offender is another characteristic assumed to affect officers' referral decisions. Goldman (1969), McEachern and Bauzer (1967), Terry (1967), and Thomas and Sieverdes (1975) all found that age was significantly related to case disposition. Younger offenders are usually given less severe dispositions and are more likely to be referred than older offenders. The latter two studies held seriousness of offense constant and discovered that the correlation between age and disposition was reduced, but still significant. In her study of Youth Services Bureas, Duxbury compared ages of individuals referred to YSBs with those sent to the probation department and concluded that the referred youth were slightly younger (Duxbury, 1973).

Goldman attempted to determine the influence of offenders' sex on police disposition. In a study comparing disposition of juveniles known to both police and courts with those known only to police, he found that police did not discriminate against women; although the number of females was small, women were no more likely to be petitioned to court than men (Goldman, 1969). Terry's study of police disposition of juvenile cases in an industrialized Midwestern city concluded that most cases referred to social agencies involved incorrigibility and sex offenses. Female sex offenders were more visible to police than males and were more likely to be referred to social agencies; while 7.4 percent of females were referred to outside agencies, only 0.8 percent of males were referred (Terry, 1967). Similarly, McEachern and Bauzer (1967) found differences by sex in police handling of juvenile offenders when type of offense was controlled.

Demeanor of offenders on apprehension is a fourth variable hypothesized to affect police referral decisions. Piliavin and Briar (1964) considered it the most important predictor of police decisions in cases involving minor offenses and in some involving major offenses. They noted that officers have little access to information about juveniles:

> Both the decision made in the field -- whether or not to bring the boy in -- and the decision made at the station -- which disposition to invoke -- were based largely on cues which emerged from the interaction between the officer and the youth, cues from which the officer inferred the youth's character (Piliavin and Briar, 1964: 445).

Wilbanks, in his literature review, notes that:

> Since Piliavin's and Briar's study utilized the observation technique rather than relying upon written police records it may be that correlations between race and socio-economic status (as found by Thornberry) and disposition are spurious in that black youths may receive more severe dispositions due to their failure to show the proper demeanor (deferrence to authority, contriteness, politeness) (Wilbanks, 1975: 16-17).

Black and Reiss (1970) found probability of arrest strongly related to the offender's demeanor. Juveniles contacted by police who are overly solicitous or unduly disrespectful of officers are more likely to be arrested than juveniles expressing moderate and realistic amounts of respect. Two other observation studies, by Emerson (1969) and Cicourel (1968), indicated that officers' perceptions of juvenile attitudes affected referral. Another series of articles dealt with attitudes of offenders and their parents: when juveniles were cooperative and parents appeared sincerely interested in the child's welfare, likelihood of arrest declined while that of referral increased (Gross, 1967; Gold, 1970; Kobetz, 1971; Klein, 1973; Chamelin, 1975). Gold's study of delinquency in Flint (MI) indicated that juveniles committing delinquent acts overestimated their chances of being caught by police, but that these estimates did not deter them. The study implied that police did not intimidate delinquents, that apprehended juveniles tended to defy police authority, and that likelihood of referral decreased accordingly (Gold, 1970).

Gibbs (1974) noted that the attitude of juvenile auto thieves changed from time of apprehension to time of court sentencing. Self-esteem increased after court disposition, suggesting that attitudes displayed upon initial contact with police officers are subject to change, whether or not referral is offered. Police officers base referral decisions upon attitudes of juveniles at contact. Referral decisions may thus be founded in part upon temporary juvenile attitudes associated with apprehension rather than upon permanent attitudes or belief patterns (Gibbs, 1974). Pink and White's (1976) observation that offenders who "go straight" appear to do so independently of their experiences with police or corrections complement Gibbs's findings.

Sullivan and Siegel (1972), using simulation techniques, discovered that offender attitudes were critical to officers' decisions on case disposition. If police perceive resistance to authority or disrespect, they often impose severe sanctions. If juveniles are restrained and cooperative they are perceived as having a "good attitude" and are more apt to receive less severe dispositions. Juveniles with prior records or police contacts are much more likely to receive severe dispositions and less likely to be referred. Most studies examining this factor found it significantly related to severity of disposition (McEachern and Bauzer, 1967; Terry, 1967; Sellin and Wolfgang, 1969; Thornberry, 1973).

A sixth and final characteristic hypothesized to affect referral is offender socioeconomic status or family background. Again, empirical analysis has provided contradictory results. Shannon (1963) reported that middle- and upper-class juveniles were less likely to be sent to court than were lower-class youth. Stratton's (1975) study of juveniles referred to a police counseling program in San Francisco (CA) indicated that ratings of the program varied with participants' socioeconomic status. Thornberry (1973) also argued that socioeconomic status was an accurate predictor of police case disposition. He found that lower-class juveniles were given more severe dispositions than juveniles from higher-class backgrounds. This relationship held when seriousness of offense and number of prior offenses were controlled.

McEachern and Bauzer (1967) found that the more stable the juvenile's family background, the less likely police were to send him or her to court. Along with Terry (1967) and Weiner and Willie (1971), they concluded that socioeconomic status was not significantly related to police dispositions when seriousness of offense and recidivism were controlled. While Terry and McEachern and Bauzer measured only individual offenders' socioeconomic status, Weiner and Willie and Shannon examined neighborhood socioeconomic status as well; it too had no significant effect on juvenile officers' case dispositions.

Several other studies propose that offenders' family background is significantly related to police case disposition. Emerson (1969) and Cicourel (1968) argue that the determining factor is not socioeconomic status, but officers' perceptions of the family's ability to control the offender if he or she is not sent to court. Lower-class parents are viewed as less able to exercise control or to ensure that offending juveniles will actually contact an agency if referred. Cicourel states that police are biased against the lower class; middle-class families provide the model for ideal home life. Emerson disagrees, maintaining that police deal almost entirely with lower- and middle-class families and recognize important distinctions in family lifestyles. Police are much more concerned with whether parents can maintain control or direct children to referral agencies than whether there is a father in the home or an intact marriage (Emerson, 1969). Given conflicting empirical evidence, it is not clear whether juvenile disposition is based on the status and lifestyle of offenders or on other factors.

Complainant and victim preferences regarding disposition in juvenile cases may influence police case handling. Black and Reiss (1970) found that complainants' preferences were a strong determinant of arrest and that Black complainants were more likely to demand an arrest than were Whites. Hohenstein's (1969) study of more than 500 Philadephia delinquents produced similar conclusions. Offenders are less likely to be arrested if the victim expresses a preference against prosecution. When victims express no preference, variables such as prior record and seriousness of offense are likely to dictate officer decisions. Chamelin (1975) hypothesized that attitudes of all individuals involved in police-juvenile encounters (offenders, victims, complainants, families) helped determine officers' referral decisions.

Literature on characteristics of public inebriates and persons involved in domestic crises is minimal. Attributes, when discussed at all, usually focus on socioeconomic status. In one of the earliest major studies of "chronic police-case inebriates," Pittman and Gordon

(1958) showed that characteristics of arrested drunks were significantly different from those of the rest of the population. Arrested inebriates tended to live alone and were usually male, poor, older (average age about 48 years), and often either Irish or Black. This and similar studies, by pointing out that alcoholism laws were not impartially applied, may be largely responsible for the movement away from incarceration. The discriminatory practice of arresting skid-row drunks while taking others home to sober up has been attacked by Stern (1967); Grad, Goldberg, and Shapiro (1971); Nimmer (1971); and Goldstein (1977), among others.

Nimmer argued adamantly that "It is untrue that the basic issue has to do with drunks; it only has to do with skid-row drunks" (Nimmer, 1971). Stern, in discussing this discrimination, states that:

> it may be debatable whether drunkenness is so antisocial, so immoral and so contrary to our ethics that it should be punishable by criminal laws. But it is not debatable that the system, if it does continue, must act in a nondiscriminatory manner . . . every person drunk in public should be arrested, or none at all (Stern, 1967).

Stratton (1973) favors referral to detoxification programs, but argues that middle- and upper-class people are normally opposed to submitting to such potentially humiliating and taxing treatment. Most of the people who enroll in detoxification programs will thus be poor. Grad, Goldberg, and Shapiro (1971) draw similar conclusions, arguing against involuntary commitment to detoxification facilities. They feel that if police are authorized to transport inebriates to treatment centers against their will, then transportation for all inebriated persons picked up by police should be required to avoid discrimination against skid-row drunks. They also note that:

> laws against drunkenness are almost exclusively applied against the poorly dressed lower class drinker, or against the "skid row" drinker. Sometimes this bias is overt. Most often it is the result of rather arbitrary police practice. The well-dressed inebriate who has taxi fare in his pocket is rarely arrested by the police, even if he is staggering, talking incoherently, or reeking of liquor (Grad, Goldberg, and Shapiro, 1971: 12).

Discrimination in case disposition is also criticized because it burdens police officers. Rubington (1975) and Pittman (1975) discuss problems created for officers directed to enforce social norms, making them appear to perform more social work, and fewer law enforcement, functions.

Family crisis literature contains little information on types of individuals involved in domestic disputes. Cumming, Cumming, and Edell (1965); Parnas (1967); and Bard (1970b, 1975) observed that the poor and uneducated are most likely to call police for help in domestic crises. Parnas claims that people in crisis who call police are more likely to be arrested than referred if they are poor. Victims in domestic disputes seldom secure warrants when advised by police to do so; they also decline to prosecute or serve as witnesses at trials. Parnas notes that voluntary referral depends upon citizen efforts to initiate agency contact; these efforts are less likely to be made by the poor and uneducated -- those most likely to call for police assistance (Parnas, 1967).

## Hypothesis 6: Community Service Conditions

Community service conditions create the environment in which a police department operates; service conditions include community size, wealth, economic stability, region of the country, and other environmental features impinging on policing in metropolitan areas. They affect the number and types of calls for service that departments receive and the manner in which police referral systems are organized. Although we expect varying service conditions to produce varying referral practices, few studies have examined their impact. Most investigations into service conditions involve community size and location and discuss referral indirectly.

Some studies examine the relationship between community size and police treatment of juveniles. Monahan (1969), relying on FBI arrest-rate statistics from 1965-66, found variation in the percentage of juvenile offenders across communities, regions, and states. Controlling for state and region, he found that urban-rural differences accounted for much of the variation in reported rates. The lowest percentage of minors were arrested in rural areas. Police in both large cities and rural areas were more likely to take court action against juveniles than were police in medium-sized cities. Police in large cities handled a proportionately higher volume of juvenile cases. Although a lower percentage were sent to court from large cities than from rural areas, a higher percentage were petitioned in larger cities than in medium-sized cities. Referral is thus more likely in medium-sized cities than in either large cities or rural communities -- possibly because of community norms or officer familiarity with existing referral agencies.

Shannon (1963) studied patterns of police handling of juveniles in a medium-sized city from 1950-1955. Examining nearly 2,000 juvenile offenses, he found that the majority of offenders were released or referred to community agencies. The number of delinquent acts resulting in police contact and referral varied significantly by city zone; when type of offense was controlled, the relationship between city zone and likelihood of referral disappeared.

Goldman (1969), in a study of juvenile offenders selected for court appearance in four Pittsburgh-area communities, found that annual arrest rates ranged from 12.4 to 49.7 per 1,000 children. Arrest rates were highest in the community with the highest socioeconomic rating, lowest in the community with the lowest socioeconomic rating and a highly transient population. There was also wide variation among communities in the proportion of serious offenses for which arrests were made. Percentages of arrests for serious offenses in the two larger communities were four or five times greater than percentages in the two smaller cities. Differences "might be accounted for by reference to some aspects of the community such as size and socioeconomic status and the nature of the relation between the police and the public" (Goldman, 1969: 282). While not focusing directly upon either service conditions or referral, Goldman's study suggests the possibility that larger communities treat referral differently than smaller ones. Since the two smaller cities arrest lower percentages of offenders -- and conceivably refer more juveniles who have committed minor offenses -- the hypothesis that likelihood of referral is less in larger communities may be correct. Even though a large city may support a greater number of referral agencies, there is no guarantee that police will refer individuals to those agencies.

Other studies have mentioned the role of city size in police case disposition. Ellingston (1948) hypothesized that in rural areas the percentage of minor offenses in which police are called is lower than in urban areas. LaFave (1962) indicated that the likelihood of juveniles being warned and released by police is negatively related to city size. Except for minor offenses, where no relationship is discernible, likelihood of a warning after arrest is positively related to city size.

Other publications examine additional service condition variables. Klein (1973) suggested that frequency of police referral varied with amount of pressure applied to police agencies by special interest groups; the more groups organized to monitor juveniles' rights, the greater the pressure to keep offenders out of court. Wilson (1968a) suggested that unofficial action by police officers in the field is more likely if community wealth and socioeconomic status are high. O'Connor and Watson (1964) noted that existence of specialized juvenile units appeared to be a regional phenomenon; more than 89 percent of police agencies in Pacific states had established such units by 1964, compared to only 58 percent in New England states. Other factors being equal, we would expect more internal referral in Pacific states than in New England states.

In a discussion of domestic crisis intervention, Chapman and Sonenblum (1972) note that community expectations are an important influence on police behavior. Kowalewski (1975) states that recently there has been a sharp rise in citizen expectations of efficiency of local police service -- including an increase in the types of social services expected.

Mintz and Sandler (1973) propose that levels of community respect and cooperation directly influence overall officer morale and job satisfaction. Bard (1975) feels that referral is appropriate only when the officer has a good knowledge of the cultural characteristics of the population and of community resources.

Coffey (1974b) speculates that the public is concerned with the existence of criminal behavior rather than with enlightened discussions of the reasons for that behavior. This concern focuses attention directly on police. Community tolerance and police effectiveness are cited as conflicting influences on the amount and type of community resources supported. Community norms may dictate existence of social service agencies and specialized police units; referral systems are often at the mercy of these norms and the manner in which they allow police to allocate resources.

Treger is among the few authors considering effects of community service conditions on development of police referral programs. After establishing his police social work team model in Wheaton and Niles (IL), he tested its adaptability to different communities by expanding it to Maywood (IL), an integrated community with a large minority population and a small tax base. Treger observed that minorities often distrust new, government-sponsored programs established within traditional settings, such as a police department. Communities with low tax bases often cannot establish referral programs because they lack matching funds required by federal regulations. Treger concluded that regardless of tax base, with extra effort by social workers his model could be equally successful in all communities (Treger, 1976b).

## Hypothesis 7: Legal Context Governing Policing

The decision to refer is often based on the legal context of a case. The introduction to this chapter discussed the major contribution to that context: statutory and case law. Partly because of the creation of the juvenile court and its effects on offenders and consequent court decisions, referral is becoming an accepted means of juvenile case disposition. A series of court cases supporting decriminalization of public intoxication helped establish detoxification centers and mechanisms for police referral. The legal context is not only a product of existing laws and court precedent, but of such factors as seriousness and type of offense, number of previous police-offender contacts, presence and attitude of witnesses and complainants, and court policies.

Of these four variables, seriousness of offense has received the most attention in the literature. Numerous studies of police-juvenile relations consider it crucial to the referral process (McEachern and Bauzer, 1967; Terry, 1967; Adams, 1968; Goldman, 1969; Black and Reiss, 1970; Gold, 1970; Kobetz, 1971; Sullivan and Siegel, 1972; Cressey and McDermott, 1973; Thornberry, 1973; Chamelin, 1975; Thomas and Sieverdes, 1975). Several have suggested that the more serious the offense, the less likely police will be to refer offenders. (See discussion of Hypothesis 5.)

Type and seriousness of offense frequently appear as controls for offender characteristics such as sex, race, age, and socioeconomic status. Although these characteristics are often positively associated with likelihood of referral, the strength of association usually diminishes when seriousness of offense is controlled. (For a good example of studies of this type, see Terry, 1967; but for a study controlling offender characteristics and examining the variance in seriousness of offense, see Thomas and Sieverdes, 1975.)

The greater the number of previous offenses or contacts with the police, the less likely a juvenile's chances of referral. Most studies examining this variable have shown that referral is more likely for first offenders than for recidivists (Gross, 1967; McEachern and Bauzer, 1967; Terry, 1967; Gold, 1970; Kobetz, 1971; Thornberry, 1973; and Thomas and Sieverdes, 1975).

The third offense-related variable, which has received much less examination, is the attitude or presence of victims or complainants. Hohenstein's (1969) study of a 10 percent sample of all reported delinquency offenses in Philadelphia in 1960 showed that victims' attitudes, measured by whether they indicated a preference for prosecution, was the best predictor of police disposition -- even better than prior record or seriousness of offense. In cases where victims or witnesses are identified by police, prosecution is more likely than referral.

A fourth factor in the legal context is the existence of court policies governing specific juvenile offenses. In some jurisdictions courts may refuse to hear certain cases; in others judges may establish records of consistently issuing particular decisions based on technicalities of the arrest (Binder, Green, and Newkirk 1973).

Court decisions have affected referral of public inebriates more than referral of either juveniles or persons involved in domestic crises. Unlike the case of juveniles, almost no police referral of drunks occurred before courts decriminalized public drunkenness. The Uniform Alcoholism and Intoxication Treatment Act of 1971 -- originally a Washington state law, but since enacted in part or in full by a majority of states -- has legitimized referral. The Act makes most detoxification programs voluntary (with the exception of emergency situations) and authorizes police to transport public drunks to treatment centers or to their homes (Correctional Association of New York, 1975; Truax, 1972).

Selective application of criminal sanctions was largely ignored until the court decisions of the 1960s. These decisions marked judicial expansion in the scope of inebriates' rights secured by the Eighth Amendment and the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment; the courts made it more difficult for selective law enforcement, which had resulted in the incarceration of only indigent inebriates.

Goodman (1975), Nimmer (1971), and others are still concerned that an inebriate's prior record or socioeconomic status will be major factors in granting or denying his or her release by police. Although in California and other states, selective referral is unconstitutional because it discriminates against repeat offenders, officer discretion is often unchecked and referral is implemented on a case-by-case basis.

Variation in state statutes also allows comparative study of police practices (Grad, Goldberg, and Shapiro, 1971; Nimmer, 1971). Most literature favors decriminalization of public intoxification, but does not suggest that this alone will solve all social and behavioral problems associated with public inebriation. Many states with decriminalization laws have found that they must also devise statutes authorizing police to transport and commit drunks to emergency treatment centers (Goldstein, 1977). Grad, Goldberg, and Shapiro's (1971) comprehensive work describes various state alcoholism laws and lists recommendations for statutes providing patrol officers with legal safeguards necessary for handling public drunks. Nimmer (1971) also describes various methods of dealing with public inebriates in effect in Chicago; St. Louis; Washington, D.C.; and New York City.

Unlike police handling of public drunks, where statutes dictate the direction and extent of officer involvement, there is often little police can legally do when intervening in domestic crises. They may be called before any law violation has occurred. Unless they can locate a complainant willing to press charges, officers must attempt to rectify situations as best they can. It is impossible to make referral decisions based on seriousness of offense when no offense has been committed or when no complainants come forward. Individual judgment rather than statutory law determines police behavior in crisis situations.

Officers do not, however, operate in a legal vacuum in responding to family crises. Depending on the situation, officers may decide a violation has occurred and make appropriate arrests. Parnas (1971) notes that officers are more likely to arrest in situations of violence between strangers than in cases of family violence; in the latter, police will often seek temporary, on-the-scene adjustment, or make referrals to community agencies.

Occasionally laws obstruct effective referral procedures. Many juvenile probation units cannot provide direct services after police intervention because they are restricted by law to cases involving delinquency. Clients served by these units must be declared delinquent prior to referral. Officers may not be able to divert delinquent or potentially delinquent youth without labelling them -- a process that referral tries to prevent (Coffey, 1974b).

## Hypothesis 8: Police Agency Resources

Discussion of the influence of police agency resources, either fiscal or personnel, in establishing internal referral programs is infrequent. There is even less examination of their effect on external referral agencies. Yet it seems likely that, among other factors, non-judicial handling of offenders is partly a result of the size of a police agency's budget:

> As in any other aspect of administration the allocation of scarce resources requires a policy decision concerning which laws shall be enforced vigorously and which in less intense fashion. This is tantamount to saying that although the policy-maker knows in advance that a number of violators will go unpunished, he nevertheless consciously sets up his resources to permit such non-enforcement in order to operate more effectively in coping with other crimes (Abernathy, 1962: 475).

Departmental priority assigned to social service cases determines the amount of resources expanded on enforcing laws pertaining to juveniles and public inebriates and therefore may affect likelihood of referral. Departments assigning low priority to social service cases may refer more often than others, ceteris paribus, to avoid draining scarce resources.

LaFave (1962) agrees that departmental budgets influence police priorities. Lack of money and manpower prevent police from arresting all offenders and encourage officer discretion. Departmental budgets also affect internal referral. In his study of the New York City Police Department's Juvenile Aid Bureau, Kahn (1951c) pointed to a lack of agency resources as a primary cause of what he considered the failure of the JAB; lack of facilities and trained personnel, both attributable to insufficient funding, added to the unit's ineffectiveness.

Coffey cites budget restrictions as influencing a community's decision to institute referral programs. Because their resources are limited he argues that when possible, police administratrators should channel resources into law enforcement functions; domestic crisis cases, among others, should be directed to outside agencies (Coffey, 1974b). Parnas (1967) notes that allocating personnel to social service tasks may adversely affect police ability to fulfill law enforcement functions.

In part because of this concern about limited resources, state and federal grants have funded most internal police referral programs. Their intent is to offer initial support for experimental programs; if successful (according to specified criteria), the department or local community must eventually assume responsibility for continuation of the program(s).

Klein (1976a) and Sandler and di Grazia (1976) argue that programs funded by outside sources rarely last beyond the lifetime of the grant, that police agencies abandon most referral programs once state or federal support is removed, and that successful projects must rely on municipal funding alone. There are documented cases of internal programs that have received local support. The Greece (NY) Police Department's Youth Division civilian in-house counseling project is one example. Treger (1976b) reported that his programs in Wheaton and Niles (IL) were continued with local funding after they had exhausted money from outside sources. What percentage of referral projects can survive on local funds, and at what extent of their original funding level, is a question for future research.

Klein and Teilmann (1976) point out that in-house diversion projects initiated by local police officers are more likely to survive than those supported by outside funds. While outside funding may "buy" a higher referral rate, it does not buy a higher level of officer commitment or enthusiasm:

> Further, since such funds are often used to purchase services from outside agencies, there is little material gain for the police in this arrangement . . . Another implication is that committed departments would refer more cases if they were given the outside funds to do so. Of course, funds usually go to the departments which do not, of their own accord, have referral programs . . . Source of funding seems to be a pivotal variable [characterizing] departments as more committed or as less committed to referral (Klein and Teilmann, 1976: 15-16).

The effect of agency resources on likelihood of police referral is unclear from the literature. Departments with suitable funding may wish to handle cases internally where possible, or they may increase the number of cases handled, thereby increasing referrals to outside agencies. What is clear is that police referral projects are usually initiated by outside funding, and their longevity is dependent on community support.

## Hypothesis 9: Police Discretion

The debate about effects of police discretion has been long and bitter. Some legal experts have objected to the prospect of increased police discretion in handling noncriminal calls (Goldstein, 1960; Kadish, 1962; Davis, 1969). Others have argued that discretion is proper -- *especially* in dealing with noncriminal calls (Abernathy, 1962; LaFave, 1962; Parnas, 1971; Thomas and Sieverdes, 1975; Goldstein, 1977). The President's Commission recognized that:

> The police should openly acknowledge that, quite properly, they do not arrest all, or even most, offenders they know of. Among the factors accounting for this exercise of discretion are the volume of offenses and the limited resources of the police, the ambiguity of and the public desire for nonenforcement of many statutes and ordinances, the reluctance of many victims to complain, and most important, an entirely proper conviction by policemen that the invocation of criminal sanctions is too drastic a response to many offenses (President's Commission, 1967a: 106).

Police patrol officers exercise considerable discretion and often determine suitability of arrest without direction from superiors. Absence of enforceable departmental policies and the resulting officer discretion influence referral, as we noted in the discussion of Hypothesis 1. Discretion has at least three potential effects on referral: it may render some dispositions legally questionable; it may involve coercion; and it may result in inequitable application of the law.

Several scholars have noted the legal ambiguities of discretion (Myren and Swanson, 1962; Davis, 1969; Goldstein, 1977). As Davis points out:

> A most astounding fact about police policy-making is that much of it is unauthorized by statute or by ordinance, that some of it is directly contrary to statutes or ordinances, and that the strongest argument for legality rests upon legislative inaction in the face of long-continued police practices. Nearly all the policy-making power the police have assumed is beyond the reach of judicial review. Extremely incongruous is the juxtaposition in the same legal system of enormous undelegated power long exercised by the police without legislative guides of any kind and often directly contrary to policies embodied in legislative enactments, and a judicially created doctrine that legislative delegations are unconstitutional without meaningful standards (Davis, 1969: 84).

Davis suggests that though laws often clearly state that certain actions are illegal, police officers may ignore the laws. Referral then depends on the discretion of individual officers.

Piliavin and Briar argue that juvenile officers are an elite group within a police department, exercising considerable discretion in dealing with offenders. They attribute this use of discretion to two factors: officers' reluctance to expose certain youth to stigmatization associated with official police action, and agency policies sanctioning discretion. In the department studied, administrators stressed that juvenile officers should consider factors other than nature of the offense when determining case disposition; the department demanded that juvenile officers exercise discretion (Piliavin and Briar, 1964: 443).

Although opponents of widespread police discretion have noted its potential for coercive control, there have been few studies attempting to document coercion. Schregardus (1974) has pointed out that participation in a program for young drug abusers was voluntary and that juveniles' families had to request admission. Juveniles referred by police were often given the choice of counseling or probation. Coercion was also evidenced in that uncooperative juveniles could be returned to police for possible prosecution. Police discretion certainly includes the capability for coercion, but the extent to which coercion is invoked remains a subject for further study.

Police discretion may result in inequitable application of the law. Numerous studies of juvenile diversion and referral have discussed offender characteristics and whether or not police discriminate against specific groups. Empirical research is inconclusive. The National Institute of Mental Health (1971b) and Thornberry (1973) have shown that increased discretion results in inconsistent application of the law. But Terry (1967) and McEachern and Bauzer (1967), among others, found no racial or socioeconomic bias. (See the discussion of Hypothesis 5.)

Discretion is a more viable option in cases of juvenile delinquency and family disturbances than in cases of public intoxication. Although some experts on alcoholism recognize the discriminatory treatment of skid-row drunks, they attribute this less to discretion than to community norms or departmental policies (Grad, Goldberg, and Shapiro 1971; Nimmer, 1971; Pittman, 1975). Prior to decriminalization laws, Stern (1967) argued that police treated inebriates with greater belligerence and prejudice than they treated most criminals, largely because of the discretion officers were afforded. The removal of inebriates from the vagaries of discretion, forcing police agencies to direct them to proper facilities, was a significant argument in favor of decriminalization (Pittman, 1975). Yet Goodman (1975) notes that the Uniform Act gave California police officers broad discretionary powers with no guidelines as to their proper use. As a result, indigents are more often arrested than referred to treatment.

Involuntary treatment forces officers to make subjective judgments regarding the need for treatment (Grad, Goldberg, and Shapiro 1971). Voluntary detoxification programs are supposed to lessen the potential for application of discretion and discrimination. The literature shows that police prefer involuntary treatment programs (Owens, 1973); with voluntary programs, police cooperation is variable at best (ICMA, 1975). Those who favor creation of voluntary detoxification programs do not pretend that such programs will eliminate police discrimination against public inebriates, yet most agree that voluntary programs lessen chances for discretionary disposition.

Officer discretion is also important in referring individuals involved in domestic crisis situations. There has been considerable debate about how much discretion officers should have in domestic situations. Coffey (1974b) argues that officers must determine the need for enforcement and control of law violations soon after intervening in the crisis; referral offers an alternative to arrest and to possible aggravation of the situation. Mintz and Sandler (1973) consider discretionary powers essential to their Full-Service Model and to the development of the professional officer. Parnas (1967) agrees, suggesting that discretion is both desirable and unavoidable. Cumming, Cumming, and Edell (1965), however, warn that officers' judgments often reflect only their own values and may transcend the rights and needs of citizens.

Parnas (1967) maintains that discretion rests with departmental telephone operators or dispatchers as well as with patrol officers. Operators or dispatchers may attempt to resolve calls or redirect them to agencies better equipped to handle domestic disturbances. In a later work Parnas (1971) notes that almost all officers dislike intervening in family disputes, but usually favor temporary adjustment instead of arrest. They separate these incidents from general criminal activity and are more often concerned with preservation of family relationships than with determination of criminal blame. Treger (1972a) proposes his police-social work team as a method for taking advantage of officers' experience and judgment in handling domestic disputes. Referral to the social work team offers an alternative to dismissal or arrest, providing immediate feedback to the officer.

### Hypothesis 10: Increased Efficiency of the Criminal Justice System

It has been suggested that police referral increases overall efficiency of the criminal justice system. Efficiency is usually thought of as the difference between costs and benefits, but it is rarely possible in the public sector to measure both costs (or inputs) and benefits (or outputs) in the same units. Conclusions about efficiency are often dependent on the value assigned by the analyst. Partly because there is no consistent definition of efficiency, referral's impact on efficiency is more often attributed than demonstrated empirically. Contentions about referral's efficiency involve two claims: that it reduces court case loads and police agency costs, and that it reduces officers' time spent in case processing. Literature presents both supporting and contradictory evidence.

Many argue that referral lowers court case loads by routing out of the criminal justice system individuals who would normally have been processed through it. Binder, Green, and Newkirk assert that:

> caseload volume alone provides ample justification for experiments with the pre-judicial disposition of juvenile offenders using practices such as police discretion, station adjustment, planned diversion, and informal handling by probation officers and court staffs (Binder, Green, and Newkirk 1973: 255).

Cole (1976) notes that rerouting juveniles could take many forms, including in-house police treatment or treatment by public or private community agencies; any alternate method of disposition is appropriate, given the overwhelming need to reduce court crowding. Di Vito pleads for increased police disposition of juveniles:

> Visualize for a moment the added strain on the juvenile court if every juvenile who is apprehended by police is routinely sent through the courts much the same as an adult. Visualize also some of the typical very minor offenses of the young going into court while the more serious offenses must wait for the dockets to clear. With this vision of chaos in mind, you will better appreciate the policy of station adjustment utilized by police departments with the blessing of the juvenile court (Di Vito, 1975: 14).

Parnas listed several types of calls for service that he felt police should refer to other agencies, including calls about public drunks, traffic violations, and intrafamily assaults. He argued that police handled these calls inefficiently and that the justice system was overloaded. By referring these calls in the beginning, court case loads would be reduced and officers freed to respond to more serious calls (Parnas, 1971). Other authors' have adapted similar arguments (see, for example, Lemert, 1971; Flammang, 1972; Yale Law Journal, 1974; and Rutherford and McDermott, 1976).

In one of the few empirical studies of the relationship between referral and court case load, Schregardus described a federally-funded drug abuse counseling project in Yolo County (CA). Police referred young offenders to the project and although details of an individual's progress were not regularly reported, police were notified when the juvenile had completed the program. Not only were police and court case loads reduced over time, but the program significantly lightened the work load of other community agencies (Schregardus, 1974).

Thomson and Treger noticed a reduction in the number of cases sent to court after the introduction of the Social Service Project in the Wheaton (IL) Police Department. Initiated in 1969, the Social Service Project offered a number of services including juvenile counseling, crisis intervention, and referral to community agencies. Statistics showed a sharp decrease in cases sent to juvenile court in Wheaton, while 16 other communities in the same county not participating in the project showed increases. Controlling for juvenile population and number of police-juvenile contacts, the authors concluded that the Social Service Project accounted for at least 35 percent of the decline in Wheaton's juvenile court case load. Cases were either adjusted by the Project or referred to community agencies for handling (Thomson and Treger, 1973).

Studies of the police-social work team project have confirmed these findings (Treger, 1972a; Treger, Thomson, and Jaeck, 1974). By providing citizens with immediate services, the Project offered more suitable alternatives to court petitioning. Overload decreased and police-community relations improved. Bard's (1970a; 1970b; 1975) New York City project suggested that police training and referral decreased the number of arrests (and consequently the number of cases appearing in court) for domestic crisis situations.

While it may seem that, by definition, referral will reduce court case load, this is not necessarily the case. Some research indicates that because police referral programs handle some individuals who would not otherwise come in contact with police, referral may increase the number of cases sent to court. Klein (1976a) and Gibbons and Blake (1976) have suggested that referred youngsters are drawn from a subset traditionally released without further police action. That is, police referral often has the effect of "widening the nets." Officers may contact juveniles who would have been ignored if no referral program existed. Some programs contain active delinquency prevention components whose proactive efforts increase the contact population (California Youth Authority, 1976).

Lincoln, in a study of two matched groups of juveniles, found that the referred group committed more repeat offenses than the non-referred group. Referred youths committed offenses so minor that, without the project, they would have been counseled and released:

> One can infer that the referred counterparts to these matched juveniles would have been released rather than inserted into the juvenile justice system if there had been no referral program. This is interesting in view of the fact that diversion has been advertised by its proponents as an alternative to insertion into the juvenile justice system, not as an alternative to release (Lincoln, 1976: 327).

Morris and Hawkins (1970), NIMH (1971b), and Pink and White (1976) agree that the presence of referral programs may be negatively related to juvenile arrest rates. They contend that such programs increase the number of police-juvenile contacts and the number of cases handled by official police action.

The second contention regarding referral and efficiency -- that referral reduces the amount of time officers must spend counseling citizens, making arrests, or appearing in court, thereby freeing them for other duties and ultimately reducing agency costs -- is neither supported nor refuted by empirical data. Nejelski (1976) and Klein, et al. (1976) argue that diversion decreases the costs of processing individuals through the criminal justice system. Pitchess (1974) reports, minus supporting data, that a diversion program operated by the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department has reduced agency costs.

Stratton studied a diversion program operated by the San Fernando (CA) Police Department. Status offenders and first-time misdemeanor offenders were randomly assigned to two groups: one diverted, the other inserted into the justice system. Stratton found some evidence that expenditures for the processed group were higher than those for the diverted group, although his sample size was very small (Stratton, 1975). The California Youth Authority (1976) calculated a cost-per-client figure for eight diversion programs and found that project costs were no less than estimated costs of processing through the justice system.

Time and cost reduction arguments also appear in literature dealing with domestic crises and public inebriates. Driscoll, Meyer, and Schanie (1973) reported that specially trained officers resolved domestic conflict situations much faster than untrained officers. Curtis and Lutkus (1976), however, noted that trained officers spent more time at the scene, even though they were more likely to successfully resolve the conflict. McGee (1974) recommended use of nonpolice crisis intervention teams, such as those in operation in Gainesville and St. Petersburg (FL), leaving police more time to spend on law enforcement activities.

Coffey (1974b) considers police referral a more efficient use of both criminal justice and mental health counseling resources than traditional means of case disposition. Using police as a "case finding system," earlier intervention into family problems is possible, requiring fewer system resources than would be needed if problems developed to crisis proportions. Police could refer families, especially those who repeatedly call for assistance, to outside community agencies.

Literature on police referral of public inebriates is almost unanimous in arguing that referral to detoxification centers is more efficient than is arrest. Kadish (1967) criticized arrest on the principle that use of law to enforce morals was inefficient and handicapped enforcement of criminal laws. Gammage and Sachs (1971) and Dayton (1972) indicated that detoxification centers released police from the burden of paperwork involved in arrest, saving time and money. Data from the early St. Louis detoxification experiment found that referral took only 20 to 30 minutes, while it took an officer nearly 3 hours to process each arrest (Byrne, 1967). A 1973 St. Louis Police Department report indicated that referral to detoxification centers cut police time spent handling drunks almost in half (Kurtz and Regier, 1975).

The high total of arrests, not officers' time spent on individual cases, is the strongest indication of the inefficiency of incarcerating public inebriates. In the 1960s almost 40 percent of total nontraffic arrests in the United States were for public drunkenness and related problems (Nimmer, 1971). Nimmer argued that the costs of arrest far outweighed the benefits. Two program descriptions (Dayton, 1972; and Erskine, 1972) agreed that police handling of drunks was costly; the latter suggested that civilian alcoholic rescue teams would provide services much more efficiently than could police. Haggard (1976) pointed out that criminal disposition of public drunks not only wastes police resources that could be devoted to other areas, but that referral could decrease the number of arrests and correspondingly reduce police detention expenses. Referral may also decrease the number of police contacts with drunks. Hewitt (1975) felt that police handling of public inebriates not only overloaded law enforcement agencies, but clogged court dockets and jails, costing the public money that could be better spent in devising referral or detoxification programs.

The issue of cost and resource allocation is central to deciding what referral policy a department should follow. Room (1976) suggests that, contrary to expectation, referral is unlikely to cost less than would arrest procedures. He reports that in three of four California counties, total cost of handling public drunks increased after detoxification centers were opened. While reasons for this are uncertain, it may be that more time is spent babysitting drunks now than under previous arrest procedures.

## Hypothesis 11: Increased Effectiveness of the Criminal Justice System

Whether police referral is considered effective depends upon police and community agency goals. Effectiveness is a measure of what an agency achieves, but referral agency goals are rarely defined or are so general that they are difficult to measure. Criminal justice experts and program planners usually list reduction in crime and delinquency and improved treatment for citizens as primary goals of police referral. While recidivism rates are one measure of the former, the latter is determined by subjective evaluation.

Most literature on effectiveness of police juvenile referral is speculative. In his literature review describing characteristics of diversion, Klein (1973) argued that referral would reduce juvenile delinquency. In a more recent review (1976a) he claimed that referral would reduce recidivism because community service agencies could establish better rapport with clients than could police agencies. Empey and Lubeck (1973) postulate that delinquency prevention and rehabilitation will be more attainable if referral is clearly understood as an alternative to traditional means of case disposition. External referral can be effective if police are knowledgeable about community agencies and can explain to parents and juveniles the purposes and goals of the agency prior to referral (Kobetz and Bosarge, 1973). Other authors indicate that effectiveness depends almost entirely upon the quality of the referral agency and the extent of its interaction with police (MacIver, 1966; Kenney and Pursuit, 1975; Pink and White, 1976).

Some experts believe internal referral is crucial in ensuring effective reduction of juvenile delinquency. Cohen (1969) argued that juvenile cases should be referred to specialized units within the police department for handling; these units contain more highly trained personnel with greater experience and better sources of information than regular patrol officers or community agencies. Binder, Green, and Newkirk proposed a project that would allow officers to refer juvenile cases to civilian staff within the department. Under their purview, a juvenile would no longer be considered in police custody. They argued that internal referral would be more effective than conventional juvenile justice processing, but offered no empirical support (Binder, Green, and Newkirk, 1973).

Studies of recidivism rates lend some support to the claim that referral is effective. Several studies have speculated about reduced recidivism rates (Yale Law Journal, 1974; Pitchess, 1974); others have presented supporting data. A study of a Wayne County (MI) program for screening juvenile offenders examined two samples -- one of youth handled through a decentralized referral system, the other of youth handled through the central juvenile court intake system. Findings indicated that insertion into the juvenile court system was positively related to recidivism; the further an individual was conventionally processed, the more likely he or she was to break the law in the future. Also, the more often the juvenile was contacted by a justice system agent, the more likely he or she was to recidivate (Kelley, Schulman, and Lynch, 1976).

Baron and Feeney (1976) reported that the Sacramento County (CA) Probation Department diversion program reduced recidivism for both status and minor criminal offenders. Since referrals were not made by police and involved only minor offenders, it was not clear that police referral would also reduce recidivism in cases involving more serious crimes. Duxbury (1971) noted that frequency of police referral to YSB was negatively related to the probability of a case being sent to either the probation department or to court; 2 years later, however, she asserted that police were not making full use of YSBs. Recidivism rates were lower for juveniles referred by police than for nonreferred youth. While Youth Service Bureaus had potential for reducing recidivism, they were not used often enough by police to produce the substantial reduction originally expected (Duxbury, 1973).

Klein (1974) reported diversion rates for 13 police agencies in California. He found that departments that relied on diversion more often than traditional processing showed lower recidivism rates for first offenders. Departments with high diversion rates had higher recidivism rates for multiple offenders than did departments with lower diversion rates. Diversion of multiple offenders did not reduce likelihood that juveniles would be repeat offenders.

Klein's conclusions about first offenders are consistent across a number of studies. Kobetz and Bosarge (1973), in their review of juvenile diversion programs, conclude that diversion is effective in reducing recidivism for first offenders, minor violators, and drug abusers. Stratton's (1975) study of status and first offenders referred by the San Fernando (CA) Police Department showed that juveniles who received crisis counseling and follow-up assistance were less likely to be arrested again than were youth inserted normally into the justice system.

Empirical evidence about referral's effect on recidivism rates is not unanimous. Lincoln's (1976) study of matched groups of juveniles, one referred by police and the other processed in a traditional manner, indicated that the referred group committed more subsequent offenses. Findings were constant even when groups were matched for age, sex, and seriousness of crime. Sorensen agreed with Lincoln; his study of referrals to a youth services system indicated that referral stigmatized first offenders and was positively related to first-offender recidivism although it was unrelated to repeat arrest among multiple offenders. Sorensen argued that informal case handling by police, not referral, reduced recidivism (Sorensen, 1974).

Wattenberg and Bufe studied the effectiveness of individual officers in the Detroit Police Department's juvenile bureau. They found that officers who made either frequent or infrequent referrals failed to deter recidivism as effectively as officers making a moderate number of referrals (Wattenburg and Bufe, 1963).

Effectiveness of police referral of public inebriates has usually been gauged by two goals: success in keeping drunks off the streets for as long as possible (either for health or aesthetic reasons), and success in helping to rehabilitate alcoholics. Currently the criminal justice system seems to be emphasizing the second goal; if the first goal received precedence, arrest or involuntary commitment to treatment centers would be the more likely police strategy.

Experts agree that arrest and detention of drunks is ineffective in rehabilitation (Jackson, 1964; Glaser and O'Leary, 1966; Kadish, 1967; President's Commission, 1967c; Nimmer, 1971; Rubington, 1973; Vorenberg and Vorenberg, 1973; Ottenberg and Carpey, 1974; Goldstein, 1977). While there is some disagreement about effectiveness of referral to detoxification centers, there is considerable disagreement about what types of programs are most effective. One controversy centers on whether police or other public agencies should provide transportation to treatment centers; no experimental studies have determined comparative effectiveness. There is also disagreement about whether voluntary or involuntary commitment is more effective. Again, no comparative studies are available although the majority of the literature supports voluntary treatment. A third disagreement centers on whether police should refer public drunks to community agencies if there are no treatment facilities available. Nimmer (1971) argues that in some cases the most effective alternative to arrest may be no treatment at all. The Pennsylvania Crime Commission (1969) disagrees, suggesting that rehabilitation facilities should be provided before the arrest alternative is removed.

Recently, however, there has been increasing skepticism about the effectiveness of referral to detoxification centers. In an exchange in the Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Kurtz and Regier (1975), Room (1976), and others indicated that detoxification has not accomplished what its proponents thought it would. They note that some treatment centers fail to follow through on referrals and that patients are soon back on the streets. Police become more irritated with referred recidivists than with nonreferred repeat offenders. In some cities, pressure from merchants to rid their doorsteps of drunks has increased after establishment of treatment centers.

Kurtz and Regier (1975), in their indictment of the effectiveness of the Uniform Act, note a gross lack of fit between needs of chronic alcoholics and the treatment model implied by the Act. Police referral may be better suited to nonskid-row alcoholics because treatment programs often recruit clients who fit their models and who are more likely to complete the program successfully than are unresponsive skid-row inebriates. Kurtz and Regier find no reason why the "revolving door" effect of the criminal justice system will not hold for the medical profession as well. Dependence on the disease model ignores the reality of skid-row drunks and defines a patient-professional model that is unlikely to be realized. Referral will be ineffective since it provides no meaningful alternative. The result is that police must still spend a large amount of time and resources dealing with public inebriates.

Goldstein (1977) notes that if police referral to detoxification centers is "oversold" and promises more than it can deliver, referral projects may never demonstrate their effectiveness compared to that of arrest. If the difference between expectation and reality for either police officers or inebriates is too great, both groups could refuse to participate, nullifying any gains in rehabilitation that might otherwise be made.

Police referral of domestic crisis situations is usually considered effective if the situation is adjusted without violence or injury to either officers or participants. Most literature discusses improvements in service delivery to citizens; few statistics on referral's effects on injury reduction are available. Barocas (1974) argues that police ability to prevent crisis situations from escalating into violent confrontations is greatly enhanced by developing close working relationships with community agencies. Referring individuals to an appropriate agency with time and expertise necessary for both immediate and long-term support is usually considered a more effective means of crisis resolution than that offered by the police acting alone (Parnas, 1967; Treger, 1972a; Driscoll, Meyer, and Schanie, 1973; McGee, 1973; Coffey, 1974b; Treger, 1976b). Treger, Thomson, and Jaeck (1974) also argue that the further an individual proceeds through the criminal justice system, the more adversely he is affected. Citizens benefit if they are referred early.

Referral of domestic crisis participants is viewed as an effective police technique. It allows earlier police withdrawal from potentially dangerous and violent situations. It connects citizens with agencies that can offer long-term assistance and possibly prevent reoccurences, thereby decreasing further police involvement (Parnas, 1971). Competent crisis intervention and referral may prevent crime, reduce likelihood of future violence, and remove conditions contributing to family disturbances and juvenile delinquency (Bard, 1975; Mintz and Sandler, 1973). Yet none of these effects may be realized:

> The projects vary greatly -- especially in the kind of training provided and in the use made of social agencies for referral. Unfortunately, . . . many of the projects are primarily public-relations efforts and do not significantly change the way police respond to domestic disturbances (Goldstein, 1977; 77; see pp. 77-79 for a brief summary and review of several family crisis intervention projects).

# CHAPTER 4

## EVALUATION AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Police referral literature is amorphous, diverse, and difficult to categorize. While identifying trends and examining hypotheses, Chapter 3 noted weaknesses in the literature. Chapter 4 discusses these shortcomings in detail and suggests directions for future research. It evaluates police referral literature on the basis of four criteria: clarity and consistency of definitions, utility of theoretical constructs in formulating hypotheses and generating research strategies, demonstrated empirical support for hypotheses, and development of criteria for program evaluation.

### Clarity and Consistency of Definitions

The absence of either a precise definition or consistent referent for police referral was the single most difficult problem in formulating this assessment. Although some articles noted the importance of referral as a method of police case disposition, few attempted to define it or distinguish it from diversion. Definitional groundwork necessary for coherent analysis has lagged far behind enthusiasm for establishing and describing diversion programs. It is difficult to conduct comparative analyses of programs and their effects when each is established under a different rationale using a different conception of referral.

Our definition of police referral (Chapter 1) represents an initial attempt at resolution. We defined a specific set of police activities as referrals (Figure 1) and established parameters for their use in future research. We then assessed literature that discussed these actions whether or not they were originally identified as police referral activities. That is, some of what we term referral activities are discussed in the literature as diversion activities.

Referral and diversion are rarely distinguished. Klein (1973), Klein, et al. (1976), Kuykendall and Unsinger (1975), and Wilbanks (1975) are foremost among observers differentiating the two terms. Klein et al. advocate definitions similar to ours. They use diversion to apply only to the process of turning suspects or offenders away from the formal system. Referral is the process by which police initiate connnection of juveniles to a nonjustice system agency:

> Thus one can have diversion with or without referral, and one can have referral with or without successful contact and treatment at the referral agency. The distinction between diversion and referral is critical . . . (Klein et al., 1976: 102-103)

In our conception, diversion involves halting the normal flow from police contact to court adjudication. It can occur at any point in the flow by any system agent -- police, probation, or courts. Referral can also be performed by any system agent, but for our purposes it includes only police activities and involves directing citizens to particular community resources capable of handling their cases. Those resources may or may not be located within the police department. Both diversion and referral are attempts to reduce justice system impact on the individual, but police referral connotes more positive, service-oriented activities.

## Lack of Theoretical Constructs

Police referral literature is plagued by the absence of rigorous, underlying theory. Much of it is program-descriptive. Studies of juvenile delinquency and diversion are mainly hypothetical and impressionistic. Most literature contains authors' perceptions of how the criminal justice system ought to operate to reduce impact on juveniles. Analytical studies are more concerned with measuring program outputs than with conceptual sophistication. Most do not even append a theoretical framework, let alone rely on it for guidance.

Police referral literature faces no shortage of testable hypotheses; what it lacks is an a priori foundation linking them and identifying and operationalizing variables useful in empirical analysis. Program descriptions are not expected to contain theoretical justifications. It is in the literature providing the impetus for diversion and referral programs where necessary theoretical guidance is missing. Most referral studies do not begin with a statement of hypotheses; most hypotheses discussed in Chapter 3 were implied, not clearly stated. Instead, they state a perceived problem or desired goal, then discuss various methods of alleviating the problem or attaining the goal. In the absence of theoretical foundation, hypothesis testing is problematic.

While theories of police referral are nonexistent, several pretheoretical typologies have been developed. Some include referral among other methods of police case disposition. Most describe styles of police organization. Perhaps the most widely cited typology is Wilson's categorization of police departments as watchman, service, and legalistic. His categories describe how police agencies in eight American cities view their role. Police referral is not discussed directly, but we can infer that referral would be a common technique in order-maintenance situations (situations related to disturbances or minor calls, as opposed to law enforcement situations that usually involve more serious police-citizen encounters). Officers in watchman-style departments would be more likely to refer citizens externally than would officers in other departments; they "expect" juveniles to misbehave, and infractions are best ignored or treated informally. Officers in these departments consider order maintenance their primary function. Officers in legalistic-style departments are more likely to arrest than to refer since they prefer to strictly enforce the law in most situations. Officers in service-style agencies are more apt to provide internal referral (in-house counseling) to maintain their public image of courtesy and interest in individuals (Wilson, 1968b).

Kuykendall and Unsinger also adopt a policing-style model in conceptualizing departmental operations, and consider referral and diversion separately. Police methods are classified as either positive or negative to the community. Referral, or "turning over individual problems to community agencies outside the criminal justice system," is a positive police method. It is a method of "social policing" in which the counselor role is emphasized at the expense of the enforcer role (Kuykendall and Unsinger, 1975: 26-29). Kuykendall and Unsinger's discussion is among the few overtly considering referral as relevant to policing style. Yet their definition includes only external referral and ignores available internal options.

We reviewed two other pretheoretical typologies applicable to police referral. Brown's evaluation of police community relations programs for juveniles proposes a typology based on the extent of citizen involvement in police policy making. High involvement and well-established community relations programs imply that police policies and operations are subject to citizen review (Brown, 1973). We can infer that where citizens are helping develop police juvenile policies, referral is likely. When there are no formal community relations programs, referral is less likely.

Sundeen's typology of police juvenile bureaus is more relevant to referral. He factor analyzed 10 variables originally assumed to be conceptually bipolar and arranged them into four dimensions of juvenile officer orientation. The juvenile specialist has more training in juvenile matters, but is not particularly attached to his community. The community service officer is knowledgeable about community resources and uses this knowledge in his work. The locally-oriented officer has strong friendship ties with individuals in the community, and the organization-oriented officer has strong departmental ties, but little training in juvenile matters (Sundeen, 1974a).

Sundeen concludes that officers in organization-oriented and local-oriented departments are more likely to divert juveniles than are officers in specialist and service departments. Even though juvenile officers may be expert in community resources, they may not divert juveniles as often as officers who have received less training or are less "professional." Likelihood of referral may be a function of a particular kind of police professionalism: one characterized by an emphasis on community relations activities combined with a lack of formal education and strong friendships within the community (Sundeen, 1974a).

Sundeen's distinctions among his four categories are often blurred and his conclusion about likelihood of referral is confusing. He compares his categories to Wilson's -- the juvenile specialist category is similar to Wilson's legalistic department, the community service type is similar to Wilson's service-style agency, and the local orientation and organization-oriented agencies follow the watchman style. Indeed, Wilson's 1968 typology remains the standard in discussions of police referral. Even Kuykendall and Unsinger's promising discussion borrows from Wilson.

While typologies have helped formulate and test hypotheses about police referral strategies, these hypotheses are not clearly stated and must be extrapolated by the reader. Pretheoretical typologies have only characterized certain styles of policing and have not dealt specifically with police referral practices. Chapter 3 examined 11 broad hypotheses underlying police referral studies, but it will be difficult to formulate referral theories if studies do not clearly state their hypotheses and support them empirically.

## Lack of Empirical Data

Not only does most literature fail to state hypotheses clearly, but it does not base conclusions on empirical observation. It is not surprising, given the paucity of theory and the problem of definition, that little empirical data on police referral exist. Most data merely describe operations of referral programs; few studies attempt sophisticated statistical analysis. Most, as Tables 1 through 3 reflect, present no data at all, relying instead on descriptions, impressions, and unsubstantiated hypotheses.

It is difficult to explain the lack of data unless one remembers that referral is often undefined. Data on case disposition may be available from police departments; most maintain records of citizen-officer interactions even if a formal report is not filed. As police referral becomes more clearly defined and widely accepted as an appropriate means of case handling, additional data should become available. Until that time, conclusions about the efficiency or effectiveness of referral systems will remain largely unsubstantiated.

Descriptive statistics, however, can be informative. In examining police social work programs in Illinois, Curtis and Lutkus attempted to determine if citizens would voluntarily appear at the police station to receive social service assistance after being referred by an officer. They also examined citizen perceptions of coercion in the referral process. They surveyed a sample of referred citizens in two Illinois communities whose police departments had trained social workers available 24 hours a day. Curtis and Lutkus reported that people did not feel coerced into accepting social services from police, and generally felt that providing social services was a proper police function (Curtis and Lutkus, 1976).

Related research in other Illinois communities suggests that police referral increases officers' time on the scene -- an average of 27 minutes for each call referred to a police social worker compared to 19 minutes for nonreferred calls. Social service calls included domestic and civil disturbances, public intoxication, suicide prevention, mental cases, rape, and physical abuse. Of 301 social service calls studied, approximately

18 percent were referred; nearly two thirds of those were referred internally to a police social worker. Most police referrals were made by patrolmen at the scene (letter from Patrick Curtis to Eric Scott, February 1, 1977). The police social worker programs described by Curtis and Lutkus were among those pioneered in Illinois by Harvey Treger. Treger (1976) reported that most referrals to police social workers came directly from patrol officers -- more than three-fourths in Maywood and Niles and more than one-half in Wheaton.

Terry examined criteria used by police, juvenile courts, and probation departments in disposing of juvenile offenders. He considered referral to social or welfare agencies to be the least severe disposition except for outright release. In studying more than 9,000 juvenile offenses committed from 1958 to 1962 in a midwestern city of about 100,000 population he found that police referred only 2 percent (180 cases) to social or welfare agencies. Correlation analysis indicated that seriousness of offense, prior record, and age of offender were primary factors determining case disposition (Terry, 1967).

Among other studies examined in Chapter 3, only Bard (1970a; Driscoll, Meyer, and Schanie (1973); and Klein and Teilmann (1976) explicitly discussed police referral rates (although Goldman [1969] reported diversion rates -- the number of cases diverted divided by the number of cases handled -- ranging from 28 percent to 91 percent). In a 21-month period Bard's Family Crisis Intervention Unit made 1,053 referrals for 982 families. Nearly one-half (48.7 percent) were to Family Court, which maintained extensive psychiatric and counseling services. In one of two precincts studied, Bard collected follow-up information from agencies accepting referrals. Only 48.1 percent of the cases were successfully traced; agencies did not provide information about the remainder. In nearly 20 percent of those cases traced people referred contacted the social service agency. With nontraced cases included, only 9.6 percent of all persons referred made contact (Bard, 1970a: 31).

Driscoll, Meyer, and Schanie conducted telephone interviews with a sample of clients who had contact with the Louisville Police Department's family crisis unit. They placed little emphasis on referral data. Of 421 police runs to domestic disturbances, 31 percent were made by the trained crisis intervention unit. The authors interviewed 29 citizens who had been served by the unit. Twenty-one were referred to an outside agency, but only three reported that they actually contacted the agency.

> Referral rates for untrained officers were not obtained because of the relative certainty that they are at or near zero, except for referrals to family court (Driscoll, Meyer, and Schanie, 1973: 78).

From these three cases the authors miscalculated a contact rate of 7 percent. The correct figure of 14 percent (3 of 21) must be considered in light of the extremely small sample. The authors perceived a trend when comparing their study to Bard's: of the 719 citizens referred in New York during the study period, 9.6 percent contacted a service agency. One purpose of reporting referral rates is to assess the effectiveness of crisis intervention training methods. Yet referral rates are meaningless for evaluating training methods unless compared with rates for untrained officers. Accepting the assumption that rates for untrained officers are at or near zero, except for referrals to family court, nearly half of Bard's referrals (those to family court) are eliminated. Bard's unit intervened in 1,388 crises in the 30th precinct and made 785 referrals

(56.5 percent). Without Family Court referrals this rate drops to 28.3 percent. Subtracting Family Court referrals from the total number of referrals leading to confirmed contact with a service agency, the 9.6 percent contact rate drops to about 6 percent.

This example not only highlights the need to develop comparative data on police referral, such as percentage of police cases referred and percentage of referrals receiving police follow-up, but again underlines the importance of a standard definition of police referral. At first it appears that Bard and Driscoll-Meyers-Schanie have reported similar referral rates. Yet not only are rates miscalculated, but definitions of referral are dissimilar. Bard is one of many who include referrals to court among police referral activities (Goldman, 1969; and Weiner and Willie, 1971, present extensive data on court referrals from police).

Klein and Teilmann present data on case dispositions of 3,025 juveniles arrested in 33 cities during the first 3 months of 1975. They find a referral rate of about 8 percent, a significant increase since 1970:

> Referral, in this instance, definitely means a referral to a community agency, usually private, and corresponds to what is mistakenly called "diversion" by many of the programs involved. Thus, two corollary conclusions might be drawn thus far: (a) over the past five years, referral rates have increased substantially, and (b) due to the low initial rates, the current increase has not substantially affected release or petition rates over all departments (Klein and Teilmann, 1976: 9-10).

The authors present data on rates for five police dispositions: counsel and release, community referral, other juvenile justice system referral, nondetain petition, and detain petition. Rates are presented overall and for each department studied. Community referral was the least frequently used disposition overall (in 8.1 percent of the cases), while referral to other police departments or probation or parole officers accounted for 8.6 percent of the dispositions. Counsel and release was the most common action (45.8 percent of the cases). Across departments, referral rates ranged from zero to 26.7 percent. The authors do not attempt to explain these findings, citing earlier fruitless attempts by Klein (1974) and Sundeen (1974b). They conclude that referrals are coming primarily from the pool of juveniles that would otherwise have been counseled and released, and that "true" diversion -- turning offenders away from the criminal justice system -- has been replaced by provision of referral and treatment.

Even increased reporting of descriptive statistics will not solve data problems in referral literature. Few studies have reported measures of association or tests for significance. None of those reviewed analyzed referral data with even elementary correlational techniques. Among studies presenting more sophisticated empirical analysis were Sundeen (1974a), factor analysis and simple correlation; Weiner and Willie (1971), analysis of variance; Sundeen (1974b) and Terry (1967), simple correlation; and Wilbanks (1975), multiple regression. None, however, used these techniques in analyzing referral data.

Data on referral is limited primarily to number of police contacts initiated, percentage of contacts referred, and time spent handling each call. While descriptive statistics are important in understanding the role and outcomes of police referral, they represent only a small part of the potential information available. Missing, for example, are multiple regression analyses of determinants of likelihood and outcomes of referral. Until in-depth analysis of departmental referral practices is conducted and conclusions are supported by sound empirical data, referral will remain an overlooked and misunderstood method of on-scene police case disposition. As Vorenberg and Vorenberg suggest:

> Strong arguments can be made for [referral] in terms of immediate cost savings for the criminal justice system and humane treatment of offenders. It doesn't seem irrational to seek these benefits even at a time when the case that [referral] reduces crime can be made only in theoretical rather than empirical terms. Perhaps this view is simply a reflection of the sad fact that almost everything we do in the criminal justice field is on the basis of faith, and that there is generally no more empirical support for continuing what is being done than there is for changing . . . It thus seems fair to guess that for many years the case for -- or against -- [referral] will continue to be made on the basis of theory, the pressure of backlog in the system, rather superficial cost figures, and views as to the humaneness of more or less coercive treatment (Vorenberg and Vorenberg, 1973: 182).

## Inadequacy of Criteria for Program Evaluation

Many questions about referral remain unanswered. Few agree on who should be referred (preoffenders, first-time offenders, repeat offenders, victims, citizens calling for assistance or information); to what types of behavior referral should apply (delinquent tendencies, minor offenses, felonies, or information calls); and at what point after initial police contact referral should be made (prearrest, postarrest, prior to filing a petition, after filing a petition, or after answering information calls).

Referral programs seem to be serving several different goals; any comprehensive evaluation must determine whether each of these goals is attained. Among the many rationales underlying current interest in, and support for, diversion (and referral) programs are six reported by Klein and his colleagues:

- Increasing diversion overrides system biases in releasing and detaining suspects stressing more equitable and universal criteria.
- Increased diversion will decrease the volume of cases inserted into the criminal justice system.
- Diversion processing is less expensive than system processing.
- Diversion avoids stigmatization.
- Diversion effectively prevents youthful offenders from coming into contact with more hardened offenders.
- Diversion provides better and more humane treatment (Klein, et al., 1976: 105-107).

Yet criteria that police claim to use in deciding to refer imply a subtle change in the intent of diversion and referral projects. The literature suggests that police tend to refer individuals with no prior records who have committed minor offenses, who are young, White, and from good families -- individuals who are unlikely to be rearrested. Referral then represents increased police intervention and concomitantly increased justice system costs from handling individuals who would normally have been counseled and released. The trend has been to divert and refer less serious cases that are more likely to yield positive results from treatment. "Rationales have yielded to practicality and administrative-political considerations" (Klein, et al., 1976: 107-109).

Even with the profusion of questions about referral and its rationale, considerable resources have been invested in developing referral programs. In 1974 the California Office of Criminal Justice Planning allocated $5 million to more than 70 juvenile diversion projects, many of which included police referral (California Youth Authority, 1976). Klein, et al. (1976) note that the federal government spent $17 million on diversion projects in 1974. It has taken scholars, program planners, and funding agencies an inordinately long time to realize that answers to many of their questions about referral require organized evaluative research. There are three general problems with the curent state of evaluative research: an absence of evaluation studies; methodological shortcomings in those that have appeared; and failure to develop adequate, measureable evaluative criteria.

Vorenberg and Vorenberg described police referral programs in Brockton (MA), Sacramento (CA), Boston (MA), and New York (NY). They concluded that there was no way of knowing how many departments were engaged in referral programs since many were unidentifiable and unacknowledged. These programs are central to the debate about the police role in social service provision, which usually involves allocation of police resources, propriety of quasi-judicial police decision making, and implied coercion. The Vorenbergs note that police referral programs have grown rapidly, yet have generated little data analyzing their effects on crime, justice system operations, or quality of treatment:

> What is far more disturbing is that so little groundwork is being laid that would permit judgments about the worth of various programs three, five, and ten years from now. The two principle reasons are (1) lack of research funds and (2) chronic reluctance of operating agencies to subject themselves to intensive and possibly critical evaluation . . . [The primary] source of funding for research on diversion programs has been the evaluation funds of the state planning agencies, which receive and dispense federal funds under the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration program. These agencies have been strikingly unambitious and unsuccessful in developing in-depth research on evaluation of diversion projects and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration seems to have done little to press for such evaluation (Vorenberg and Vorenberg, 1973: 182).

Klein and Teilman (1976) note that in most of the California police diversion programs they examined, evaluations were minimal, poorly formulated, and often self-serving for the department; they were often conducted by in-house evaluators and were not designed to reveal negative results. Nejelski also bemoaned the lack of evaluation by outside reviewers. He argued that motion should not be mistaken for progress, and that:

> We have little evidence that [a referral] project will be successful . . . Unless [it] is adequately tested and verified, it may be merely a placebo that helps the system struggle through another decade . . . If the project is coercive, it must show success; if it is voluntary, it can justify public expenditure merely by presenting itself as not a failure (Nejelski, 1976: 406).

A second weakness in the state of evaluation is the serious methodological shortcomings facing would-be evaluators. The Vorenbergs noted the difficulty in subjecting referral projects to rigorous empirical study and thus in demonstrating their success or failure. Another problem is the lack of a consistent definition of police referral. Rarely do even a minority of officers within a department agree on what police referral is.

> When the identity of the thing being studied is so obviously up for grabs, the overall statistics showing how it works or whether or not it is a "success" aren't likely to be very meaningful to the scientifically-oriented researcher (Cressey and McDermott, 1973: 57).

In many programs, readily available statistics on referrals apply only to the number of citizens processed. These may or may not be divided by sex, age, race, seriousness of offense, or other factors. There is never an indication of the number of referral opportunities ignored or of the number of informal information-exchange referrals, especially those occurring at the dispatch or complaint desk. Often a social history or "face sheet" is compiled only for cases in which petitions are filed.

This means that for many referrals, information is likely to be nonexistent or incomplete. Given demands on officers' time, referrals are often handled without any paperwork. Recidivism statistics cited in program evaluations are suspect.

Referral success is sometimes equated with petition avoidance and not with the extent of follow-up assistance provided citizens. Even if they do conduct follow-up investigations, officers rarely monitor cases for more than 6 months or a year. Social background data are generally fragmentary since, in the absence of firm departmental policies, officers differ in their approach to recording data. Searching for this information entails exhaustive examination of agency files. Evaluation of referral programs based on recorded information is time-consuming and expensive, and has not received overwhelming endorsement from program managers (Cressey and McDermott, 1973: 58-59).

The California Youth Authority (CYA) encountered several methodological problems in a national study of Youth Service Bureaus:

> Based on the available data accumulated in this study, it is impossible to prove that any significant number of youth have been diverted from the juvenile justice system by Youth Service Bureaus . . . It is not that diversion is not a desirable goal for Youth Service Bureaus, it is just that it is virtually unmeasurable (cited in Nejelski, 1976: 406).

The importance of specifying measurable criteria for evaluating police referral programs is noted in Neithercutt and Moseley's recent review of evaluative studies:

> These were subject to severe limitations in the internal validity area in that they tended not to formulate problems clearly or to frame and test hypotheses carefully. Often the target population of the study was not exactly described and there was little hope of determining whether or not the programs "worked" because objective tests of this question were absent. Far too often study populations were inadequate,

> analytic methods were inexplicit and of questionable utility, appropriate data were lacking, statistical tools utilized were limited . . . supportive evidence from extra-study sources was non-existent, and logical leaps were involved in moving from data analysis to discussions of conclusions . . . The studies inclined toward inconsistency. Changes in analytic approaches repeatedly crept into studies mid-stream. Worse, often one could not tell whether there was any internal consistency or not . . . Whether or not diversion leads to less penetration of the criminal justice system and less recidivism remains unknown. There may be no structural component that can guarantee effectiveness (Neithercutt and Moseley, 1974: 102).

The CYA also noted an inability to evaluate several projects simultaneously:

> Even though a number of projects may have involved the same types of clients, had similar objectives, and used approximately the same program strategies, past studies seldom have evaluated the projects using common criterion measures. There have been few attempts made to conduct simultaneous evaluations across similar projects enabling their outcomes to be compared (California Youth Authority, 1976: 5).

Another methodological problem in evaluating police programs is that:

> The faddist nature of diversion has produced a proliferation of diversion units and programs without generating a close look at whether the individuals subject to all this attention are receiving a better deal (Cressey and McDermott, 1973: 59).

Cressey and McDermott advocate qualitative, longitudinal studies of referred individuals, focusing on narratives of each individual's reactions to referral. There are very few systematic evaluations of the consequences of police referral for juveniles, public inebriates, families in crisis, or others affected by referral. Most evaluative research has compared recidivism rates and has paid scant attention to other potential program effects. In fact, the ultimate objective of referral programs -- increasing police effectiveness in dealing with citizens' problems -- is almost a nonexistent topic in the literature.

In Lincoln's study of a large west coast police department, she compared a group of 30 youths referred by police to community agencies with a control group of 250 youths apprehended, but not referred, during the same period. She found that the diverted group committed more repeat offenses that the nonreferred group. Referral widened the nets. Apparently, referred youths committed offenses so minor that without referral projects they would have been counseled and released (Lincoln, 1976). Gibbons and Blake reviewed nine evaluative studies of juvenile diversion programs and concluded that they paid little attention to effects of referral on the populations for which they were intended:

> The nine projects are quite diverse and may be viewed as a sampling of diversion endeavors around the country. Although the number of programs examined is small, these are among the more adequately evaluated endeavors. We have seen that these evaluation studies were plagued with small sample numbers, ambiguity about process elements, and other shortcomings. On balance, these evaluation studies stand as testimony to the need for large-scale, sophisticated evaluation of new programs. Clearly, there is insufficient evidence in the nine studies examined here for one to have much confidence in diversion arguments and contentions (Gibbons and Blake, 1976: 420).

A third problem with evaluation studies is their failure to develop testable evaluative criteria. The first step in program evaluation is to define the problem. Program administrators are often confused about exactly what their programs were designed to accomplish. The definitional problems involve discerning the image of the offender, referral tactics employed, and expected program outcomes; these problems correspond to effectiveness, efficiency, and impact, respectively. Effectiveness evaluation is concerned with whether the program was in fact directed at the target population for which it was intended. Efficiency evaluation examines the frequency and quality of service delivery and the extent to which referral strategies were actually implemented. Impact, or outcome, evaluation concentrates on the intended consequences of referral. Most referral program evaluations have not considered all of these evaluative criteria. Effectiveness, generally measured by recidivism rates, receives the most attention; efficiency, usually measured by estimates of cost savings, is also discussed but not measured.

For example, in her evaluation of the California Youth Services Bureaus, Duxbury first outlined the programs' objectives to determine if: (1) YSBs could divert youth from the juvenile justice system, (2) the Bureaus would use existing community resources in a coordinated manner, and (3) if delinquency was reduced in selected project areas. Instead of establishing firm evaluative criteria, Duxbury listed as her criteria 23 questions dealing with the general categories of delinquency reduction, diversion, and coordination with social services (Duxbury, 1973: 21-30).

Mowen and Ramsay evaluated the administration of the Glendale (AR) Citizen Participation and Support Project (CPSP). This program combines elements of an in-house police project with those of a community social service project. It is designed to increase citizen participation in the criminal justice system and to assist crime victims and witnesses. The authors sought to determine whether program activities conformed to those described in the original grant application and how well the program had performed. They did not assess outcomes since insufficient time had elapsed since program inception. Their evaluation recommended that a questionnaire be administered to victims assisted by CPSP to determine program effectiveness (Mowen and Ramsay, 1976).

Cressey and McDermott fear that we may never know the value of diversion because evaluative criteria have not been refined. It is almost impossible to determine criteria upon which informal police referrals in the field are based; the greater the officer's discretion, the fewer the formal policies and rules governing behavior. This muddling of criteria makes accurate record keeping almost impossible and severely hinders researchers seeking statistical and survey data generalizable across police agencies (Cressey and McDermott, 1973: 56).

The California Youth Authority (CYA) tried a simultaneous evaluation of eight diversion projects. CYA reviewed program objectives and developed nine evaluative categories, three of which were selected: the extent that clients were diverted, program costs, and the extent that client delinquency was reduced. CYA looked at efficiency, effectiveness, and program outcomes. More than one half (55 percent) of all referrals made by the projects came from police agencies. People referred by police or by probation departments were termed "diversion clients" and were persons who would otherwise have been placed on probation after initial police screening. Other clients were considered "prevention clients," persons who were provided project services only to prevent possible future delinquency. CYA then examined comparison cases -- persons who had been handled by both police and probation without being referred by YSB -- to eliminate the number of police and probation referrals that would not have been processed further if no program had been available. About 30 percent would have been counseled and released by police or referred to outside agencies; these people were then counted as prevention clients. The remaining 70 percent would have been sent to probation if a referral program had not been available. The percentage of all clients referred who were actually kept from probation ranged from 11 percent to 55 percent across the eight projects.

CYA calculated a cost-per-client figure by dividing total project expenditures by number of clients served; average cost was $195 per client. Project costs were no less than estimated costs of processing through the justice system. Projects could have been more cost-effective had they handled a greater proportion of diversion clients and a smaller proportion of prevention clients.

The third question the CYA evaluation answered was the extent to which projects reduced subsequent client delinquency. CYA compared subsequent justice system contacts of clients studied with those of matched cases not referred. In six projects both clients and comparison cases had approximately the same rearrest rates; in the other two, clients had fewer subsequent arrests. Thus diversion clients did no worse and sometimes fared better than individuals processed in the traditional manner (California Youth Authority, 1976).

The CYA evaluation is an admirable attempt at setting evaluative criteria, then measuring program success. As with other evaluations, it suffers from methodological problems. It could not conduct a true comparison of the eight projects since each was structured differently. Some were run by police departments, others were not. It occasionally reported summary measures whose interpretation is suspect because of variations in program operation, structures, and objectives. Second, the evaluation was conducted, as the authors note, before true effects of the project could be determined. Third, the evaluation did not attempt to ascertain which characteristics of each project were efficient or effective. Fourth, CYA had problems collecting necessary data; some projects refused to cooperate while others did not keep track of particular statistics. Problems of data comparability remain. Fifth, calculation of project costs was tenuous. Had each project budget been itemized by function, then divided by number of clients of particular types, more accurate conclusions might have been drawn. Sixth, the evaluation claimed that two projects significantly reduced delinquency, but failed to explain why, or why the other six did not. These criticisms notwithstanding, the CYA evaluation is a promising model for future evaluations of police referral programs.

## Implications for Future Research

The call for "additional research" is a familiar one in the social sciences, and it is not surprising that many observers of police referral practices have suggested further study before drawing any firm conclusions about operating patterns or impact on clients. This imperative, however, is more easily justified for police referral than for many other research areas. Based on our assessment, we propose that future research encompass the following changes and improvements:

> Police referral should be clearly defined to subsume a specific set of activities, and distinction should be made between police referral and police diversion. Ideally, observers could reach a consensus on a single definition of referral. The terms referral and diversion are often used interchangeably because they have not been coherently defined.

> Analysts should clearly state their hypotheses prior to reporting their research findings. Hypotheses could then be grouped to

serve as the basis for possible theoretical development. Whether it is possible to formulate theories of police referral from theories of juvenile delinquency and conflict management remains to be seen.

Hypotheses should be generalizable across referral programs. This would increase comparability and ease analysis of program results. Yet hypotheses must also be specific enough to guide individual research strategies. This assessment has identified 11 broad hypotheses. In future reports we shall develop more specific, research-oriented hypotheses.

Information on police referral should come primarily from individual police departments, although community agencies can also provide valuable information. Because of the confusion over the meaning of referral and the lack of theoretical guidance, little empirical data about police referral exists. This can be remedied, but only through exhaustive, expensive data collection methods. Most referral data have come from courts and community social service agencies rather than from police departments. Yet most departments keep records of formal referral activities on officers' daily log sheets, incident cards, communications records or tapes, and general reports. Obtaining this information requires cooperation and persistence, but is well worth the effort. Information about informal referrals can be best obtained from interviews with police officers and citizens; rates are derivable from direct on-scene observation of police officer activities. This usually means riding in patrol cars and observing a sample of officer-citizen encounters. It also means observing activities of the departmental telephone operators to learn about information exchanges and referrals. In some agencies this information is available on tape; in others, a set of trained observers listening to citizen calls may be required.

Studies of police referral must present not only relevant descriptive statistics on rates of referral, types of citizens referred, background characteristics of clients, and types of agencies to which referrals are directed, but should apply more analytical methods. Use of police agency statistics, rather than just referral agency data, allows computation of more sophisticated statistics. Police departments usually maintain background information on individuals they refer.

Studies purporting to evaluate effects of police referral should clearly state the criteria they are using in their evaluation. Effectiveness and efficiency are difficult to operationalize although they remain standard evaluative criteria. Most costs are not quantifiable or measurable.

Evaluation should focus not only on specific referral projects, but on the concept of police referral. What difference does it make for police and citizens if the referrals are voluntary or coercive; how can coercion be measured? What differences are there if referrals are made to internal police units or to community social service agencies?

More attention should be paid to the effects of police agency structure and organization on referral procedures. Internal referral is largely ignored in the literature, yet is becoming increasingly important in light of the debate over the police role in providing social services. Juvenile counseling centers, police social-work teams, and family crisis intervention units are some of the many internal referral units. Are departments with specialized service units more likely to refer calls internally? Do departments with top-heavy chains of command refer more than departments with few command-rank officers?

Just as more examination is needed of effects of departmental structure on referral, research should also be conducted on other hypotheses presented in Chapter 3. Foremost is the effect of departmental policy. How does departmental policy, or lack of it, affect officers' referral activities? Can police discretion in referral be observed and measured, and is it controllable through departmental guidelines? Do officers attempt to circumvent authority when declining to refer? Wilbanks notes that:

> A research concentration on the perception of officers as to what departmental policy is and as to the availability and effectiveness of alternative dispositions in the community should have important implications in terms of future

> research . . . If departmental policy is found to be the best predictor of insertion rates across cities, researchers may show greater interest in examining the development of . . . departmental policy (Wilbanks, 1975: 33-34).

*Future research into the correlation of referral rates with presence and availability of referral resources in the community should be emphasized*. There has been little research into the degree to which police officers perceive the existence and effectiveness of community agencies. It might be that funding agencies would improve their investments by placing referral coordinators within police departments than by funding new community referral resources that might be ignored by police.

*If possible, research on police referral should be comparative across cities, programs, and issues*.

*More research is needed on the ultimate objective of referral programs: increasing police effectiveness in dealing with citizens' problems*. This requires long-term evaluation and carefully designed evaluative criteria, plus good cooperation from citizens, police departments, and referral agencies.

*Researchers must keep in mind the type of citizens being referred*. Police departments may refer several different groups of citizens: offenders, victims, complainants, or persons wanting information. The kinds of referral programs established to handle each group will vary; this point is frequently ignored in the literature.

No single study can encompass a thorough, empirical evaluation of the full range of consequences of organizing social services in different ways and of diverse agency policies for social service delivery. The variety of organizational arrangements is so large, and the potential sets of effects so vast and diffuse, that a study attempting to examine impacts of all combinations would be unrealistic. But large and diffuse problems can be tackled effectively if relevant subparts of the problems are identified and series of separate studies undertaken to examine them.

All questions and suggestions raised above are of immediate policy relevance to police administrators, community agency representatives, elected officials, and the general public. Police referral requires more careful attention than it has received. The potential effects of referral on citizens' lives are immense, as are their impact on police agency structure and operation. This assessment has analyzed and evaluated literature to try to more clearly define referral and to propose methods for planning more sophisticated research.

# APPENDIX: ABSTRACTS OF POLICE REFERRAL LITERATURE

## Introduction

In preparing this report we abstracted much of the police referral literature. These abstracts were originally intended for internal use, but may prove helpful to others interested in referral. This Appendix contains the majority of these abstracts, listed alphabetically by author's last name.

Our abstract form includes six categories. Issue Area lists the specific issue to which the publication was devoted. Four issues -- General Diversion, Juveniles, Domestic Crises, and Public Drunkenness -- are discussed at length in Chapter 3. The other two -- Police Social Service Provision and Calls for Police Service -- are discussed in Chapters 1 and 2.

Citation Type refers to the general approach of each article. Four categories -- Policy Statement, Directory, Program Description, and Training Manual -- are self-descriptive. There are five other approaches: Descriptive, Theoretical, Hypothetical, Analytical, and Evaluative. Descriptive articles detail actual or ideal operations of specific diversion or referral programs. Theoretical articles deal with the underlying theory behind referral and related subjects. Hypothetical articles, in addition to formulating hypotheses, contain authors' preferences for program design and their opinions of referral or police social service provision. Analytical articles discuss empirical results. Evaluative publications assess operations of particular referral programs, comparing performance with stated goals.

The Referral Characteristics category summarizes police referral according to criteria discussed in Chapter 1. Referrals may be voluntary or involuntary; they may be directed internally to specialized police units, or externally to community social service agencies. They may be formal, involving written requirements for entrance and costs to clients, or informal, where police provide names of agencies to contact and individuals must initiate contact with agencies. Referral is not limited to offenders, although the majority of abstracted articles either did not mention a specific clientele or concerned offenders only. Victims of crime and citizens calling police for assistance may also be referred.

The Abstract category contains a short summary of the contents of the article. The Hypotheses section lists major referral hypotheses that are either stated explicitly or extracted from reported findings or authors' opinions. The numbers in parentheses correspond to the numbers of the 11 hypotheses listed in the introduction to Chapter 3 and in Tables 1 through 3. Not every hypothesis is listed in an abstract due to space limitations.

The final category, Original Statistical Data, indicates whether the publication includes any empirical data in support of its findings and describes the type of data and the form in which it is presented. Data must be original for listing here; reports of others' findings would not be listed except under the original article.

We hope that readers can use these abstracts to focus their inquiry and avoid examining publications unrelated to their interests. The abstracts are necessarily brief and, while oriented to our definition and concept of referral, contain enough information to indicate the content of the article.

American Bar Association (1976) Directory of Criminal Justice Diversion Programs 1976. Washington, D.C.: American Bar Association Pretrial Intervention Service Center, National Offender Services Coordination Program.

Issue Area: General Diversion

Citation Type: Directory

Referral Characteristics: None

Abstract: A listing, in directory format, of criminal justice diversion programs either operational or under development. Listing is organized by state, address, director, administering agency, status, participant focus, and point of diversion. Includes programs administered by police, prosecutors, public defenders, courts, probation, and community-based public service organizations. Listings have increased from 57 projects in 1974 to 148 in 1976. Many programs have expanded their diversion jurisdiction.

Hypotheses: None

Original Statistical Data: None

Bard, Morton (1970a) "Alternatives to Traditional Law Enforcement."
Police (November/December), 20-23.

Issue Area: Domestic Crisis

Citation Type: Program Description

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, internal, formal

Abstract: Describes a program operated by the City College of New York in cooperation with the New York City Police Department to handle domestic disturbances. A group of 18 patrol officers were trained to deal with family crisis situations. They were counseled in intervention skills often used by psychologists. After training, they were placed on 24-hour duty and dispatched to all family crisis calls within a single precinct. The officers served as generalists/specialists, performing normal patrol duties when not responding to crisis calls. Efforts were made to avoid creating social workers from police officers.

Hypotheses:

- Courts are inadequate to handle family disturbances; skillful intervention and police use of mediation and referral have positive effects. (10, 11)
- Police departments can be structured as highly flexible service organizations without compromising their basic law enforcement mission. (2)
- Service calls are regarded by most policemen as unwelcome nuisances. (4)
- Police family crisis intervention techniques can create better police-community relations than can special community relations programs. (11)
- The generalist/specialist model can be extended to other police functions, such as handling juveniles. (2)
- Police departments organized along military lines are less likely to be professional departments than those with flexible organization. (2)

Original Statistical Data: None

Bard, Morton (1975) The Function of the Police in Crisis Intervention and Conflict Management: A Training Guide. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

Issue Area: Domestic Crisis

Citation Type: Training Manual

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, internal, informal

Abstract: A training manual for acquainting police with techniques of crisis intervention and conflict management, this volume includes several of Bard's articles and presents a chapter on the referral network. There is an established network of helping agencies in every community, and a primary police goal should be to maintain a functional relationship with those agencies. Referral is a process that prepares people to obtain assistance once they have recognized what their problems are and what sorts of help they need.

Hypotheses:

- Police crisis intervention reduces crime rates. (11)
- Feedback from community agencies to police is necessary for referral to be successful. (3)
- Citizens are more likely to report crimes and assist police in other ways if they perceive the police as competent helpers. (11)
- Referral is appropriate when the police officer has a good knowledge of available community resources and cultural characteristics of the population. (4, 6)
- Referral is appropriate if police officers are adequately trained. (1, 4)
- Training police officers in family crisis intervention techniques decreases the number of arrests in family disturbance calls. (2, 10)

Original Statistical Data:

From his pilot project in the New York City Police Department Bard presents data on the number of referrals made by special units and by regular police patrols, as well as the agencies to which referrals were made. Data on number of follow-up investigations are also noted.

Baron, Roger and Floyd Feeney (1976) Juvenile Diversion Through Family Counseling. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Program Description

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, internal, formal, offender referral

Abstract: The article describes a Sacramento (CA) County program for diverting juveniles referred to the probation department for status and minor criminal offenses. The 1962 LEAA-funded project concerned diversion by the probation department only. A reduction in recidivism rates was reported, but no supporting data was presented.

Hypotheses:

- Diversion of status offenders from the juvenile justice system results in lower recidivism rates. (11)

Original Statistical Data: None

Bercal, Thomas E. (1970) "Calls for Police Assistance: Consumer Demands for Governmental Service." American Behavioral Scientist, Vol. 13, No. 5/6 (May/August), 681-691.

Issue Area: Calls for Police Service

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary, internal and external

Abstract: An analysis of calls to the emergency police number in Detroit, St. Louis, and New York in 1968, this article presents considerable data on types of calls received and how they were handled. It notes the number of calls handled over the phone without the dispatch of a patrol car (18 percent in Detroit, 15.5 percent in St. Louis) and the number of calls referred to outside agencies. It summarizes data showing relative numbers of service and criminal calls.

Hypotheses:

- Only a minority of calls to the police emergency number are crime related. (6)
- Most emergency calls are handled by the dispatch of a patrol car. (1)
- Most calls resolved without dispatching a patrol car do not involve referral. (1)
- Police departments are much more likely to have written policies for handling criminal calls than for non-criminal calls. (1)

Original Statistical Data:

Presents data on percentage of calls that are crime related, percentage of calls handled without dispatch, and percentage of calls handled by various methods of disposition.

Black, Donald J. and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (1970) "Police Control of Juveniles." American Sociological Review, Vol. 35, No. 1 (February), 63-77.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, internal, formal, offender referral

Abstract: "Any individual or group behavior is deviant if it falls within a class of behavior for which there is a probability of negative sanctions subsequent to its detection." Reports observations of police-juvenile contacts in a study conducted in Washington, Boston, and Chicago in 1966. Indicates police have two basic options: handle the case in the field or refer it to a juvenile officer. The authors found most juvenile officers received their referrals from patrolmen. The authors also found most police encounters with juveniles were initiated by other citizens. The bulk of police-juvenile encounters involve minor legal matters in which the probability of arrest is low. The probability of arrest increases with the seriousness of the offense. They found no evidence that police discriminate by race in making arrests.

Hypotheses:

- Juvenile aid officers receive most of their cases on referral from patrolmen. (2)
- Most police-juvenile contacts are settled in the field. (1)
- The preference of the complainant is negatively related to the likelihood of police referral. (5)
- The probability of juveniles being arrested is low. (1)

Original Statistical Data:

Presents data on percent of police encounters with juveniles according to: type of mobilization and race of suspect by type of incident; type of incident and race of suspect by field disposition; situational organization and race of suspect by field disposition; involving a citizen complainant according to race of suspect and complainant's preference by field disposition; major situational evidence and race of suspect by field disposition; and the suspect's race and degree of deference toward the police by field disposition.

Byrne, Robert J. (1967) "Detoxification . . . An Emerging Apostolate." Hospital Progress, Vol. 30 (August), 86-89.

Issue Area: Public Drunkenness

Citation Type: Program Description

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, external, informal

Abstract: Article describes operations of St. Mary's Detoxification Center in St. Louis, one of the first such centers in the United States. Drunks are booked at the Center, and the offender (patient) is examined for medical problems. Patients are then sedated and given blood tests. After sobering up, patients are transferred to a self-care unit, given a high-protein diet, and referred to a social worker if needed.

Hypotheses:

- Police referral decreases time spent handling public drunks. (10)

Original Statistical Data:

In 1965, one third of all St. Louis Police Department arrests were for public drunkenness. The average age of the Center patients was 50. Only 20-30 minutes of police officer time is required to process a drunk through the Center, compared to about 3 hours for arrested drunks.

Chamelin, Neil C. (1975) "Police and Juvenile Court Relations."
Juvenile Justice, Vol. 26 (February), 16-20.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Hypothetical

Referral Characteristics: External, formal and informal, offender referral

Abstract: There is a great deal of police-juvenile court interaction; each is dependent upon the other. In a majority of cases initial contact with juveniles is made by patrol officers. The article lists alternatives open to patrolmen contacting juveniles. It indicates that statutory and case law, and court and police policies have an impact on disposition by a patrolman, as do the nature and seriousness of the offense, availability of alternative resources, and attitude of juveniles and parents. Police discretion has the potential for abuse, so departments should set policies to guide the patrolman in his dispositional decision. These should be developed in cooperation with the juvenile court. The article provides lists of policies needed as guidelines.

Hypotheses:

- Likelihood of police referral varies with: statutory and case law, court and police policies, nature and seriousness of offense, availability of referral agencies, and attitudes of involved persons. (1, 3, 5, 7)
- Police descretion is more effective and less dangerous if guided by specific departmental policies. (1, 9)

Original Statistical Data: None

Clark, Ronald H. (1976) "King County Prosecutor's Policy Statement Regarding the Disposition (Sentencing) of Juvenile Offenders." Seattle, Washington: King County Prosecutor's Office. Mimeo.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Policy Statement

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, formal, offender referral

Abstract: Takes antireferral, pro-prosecution approach. Moves away from the treatment-rehabilitation model, which it claims has proven inadequate and incomplete, and toward an accountability model in which juveniles are held accountable for their crimes. Referral only applies to those juveniles whose conduct does not pose a serious threat, and who are in need of social services. Referral is determined by age of offender, seriousness of offense, and prior criminal record.

Hypotheses:

- Discretion is a necessary element of justice, but is uncontrolled under the treatment-rehabilitation model of referral. (9)
- The likelihood of police referral is determined by age of offender, seriousness of offense, and prior criminal record. (5)

Original Statistical Data: None

**Coffey, Alan R.** (1974a) Juvenile Justice as a System: Law Enforcement to Rehabilitation. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

**Issue Area**: Juveniles

**Citation Type**: Descriptive, hypothetical

**Referral Characteristics**: None

**Abstract**: Chapter 5 describes juvenile diversion; the remainder describes other facets of the juvenile justice system. Juveniles most likely to be diverted are those predelinquents who, in the judgment of the police, will benefit the most from being spared contact with the justice system. Most diversion programs are informal and not mandated by statute. Police must rely heavily on discretion in their decision to divert or process a juvenile.

**Hypotheses**:

- Police diversion programs for juveniles are likely to be informal and not mandated or governed by either statute or agency policy. (1, 2, 7)

**Original Statistical Data**: None

Coffey, Alan R. (1974b) Police Intervention Into Family Crisis.
Santa Cruz, California: Davis Publishing Co.

Issue Area: Domestic Crisis

Citation Type: Hypothetical, theoretical

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary, external and internal, formal

Abstract: An exhaustive study of the police role in domestic crisis intervention. The article takes a psychological approach to police-citizen encounters. Police have a limited role in dealing with personal and family crises; it should involve only responding to calls for, or preventing, crime. Police officers should not be counselors, but should be aware of community resources and make use of them through referral techniques. The police officer faces a reaction decision in every domestic crisis case, a point at which he must decide to arrest or intervene in another manner. If he chooses the latter he can refer the case elsewhere or conduct a "diagnostic interview" that will determine his plan of action and method of intervention. Family crisis is defined as the point at which a family member cannot cope with stress.

Hypotheses:

- To adequately deal with domestic crisis situations, officers must be adequately trained. (1)
- The earlier the police can intervene in a crisis, the fewer resources they will expend in disposing of the case. (10)
- Police referral of domestic crisis cases decreases police resources necessary to dispose of these cases. (10)
- Police intervention into family disputes must involve counseling services rather than law enforcement techniques. (1)
- Police referral to public agencies is more practical than referral to private agencies because public funding is more suitable to the client's needs than is private funding. (3)
- Police referral is more effective if it is formalized through a bid procedure with interested agencies. (3, 11)
- The general public is more concerned with criminal than with noncriminal behavior. (5)
- The police law enforcement role can be suspended only in the face of evidence indicating that counseling will not jeopardize the law enforcement mission. (1)
- Although police should not engage in counseling themselves, training in counseling methods will enable them to make more appropriate referrals. (1, 4)
- Counselors, therapists, and psychiatrists are often biased toward the police, causing them to refuse to handle police referrals. (3)

Original Statistical Data: None

Correctional Association of New York and International Association of Chiefs of Police (1975) Alcohol and Alcoholism: A Police Handbook. Gaithersburg, Maryland: International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Issue Area: Public Drunkenness

Citation Type: Descriptive

Referral Characteristics: None

Abstract: Describes Uniform Alcoholism and Intoxication Treatment Act of 1971. Describes state-by-state variation in handling public drunks. This handbook includes a description of medical and side effects of alcoholism as a reference guide for police officers.

Hypotheses:

- How police handle public drunks depends on state statutes and on community facilities available for handling drunks. (3, 7)

Original Statistical Data: None

Cressey, Donald R. and Robert A. McDermott (1973) *Diversion from the Juvenile Justice System*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections.

**Issue Area:** Juveniles

**Citation Type:** Descriptive

**Referral Characteristics:** Voluntary and involuntary, internal and external, formal and informal, offender referral

**Abstract:** Considers juvenile diversion in detail, but diversion occurs after police have routed the juvenile through the probation intake officer. The probation officer may be contacted by the juvenile after the police have either sent the offender to a detention center or cited him and released him to his parents. Referral to an outside agency then becomes the responsibility of the probation officer. Reports on diversion programs in three urban communities. Provides detailed descriptions of key positions in the juvenile justice system, notably the probation intake officer. Discusses specialized diversion units.

**Hypotheses:**

- Most diversion programs are established to handle predelinquent and delinquent juveniles. (5)
- The juvenile and his/her family do not perceive their handling by a special diversion program as materially different than that provided by the normal juvenile justice system. (11)
- Where appropriate external diversion units do not exist, the juvenile justice system develops internal units. (3)

**Original Statistical Data:** None

Cumming, Elaine, Ian Cumming, and Laura Edell (1965) "Policeman as Philosopher, Guide, and Friend." Social Problems, Vol. 12, 276-286.

Issue Area: Police Social Service Provision

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: None

Abstract: Police officers are seen as part of an integrative system of community support and control, focusing on police in the role of control agents. Data collected in 1961 indicate that police spend approximately half their time performing service-related duties rather than law enforcement duties. Police perform more service functions on evenings and weekends than they do during the day. This may be a function of the unavailability of social service agencies during these times. The police often lack the knowledge to properly use community social service agencies, especially those established to deal with medical problems. Rather than training police as specialists in both controlling and supporting citizens, police referral methods should be improved.

Hypotheses:

- Police handle more social service calls during the evenings and on weekends because of the unavailability of community social service agencies. (3)
- Poor, uneducated citizens are more likely to call the police when confronted with a social service problem than are more well-off, better educated citizens. (5)
- Police have little knowledge of, or liaison with, community social service agencies. (3)
- Police professionalization, instead of improving police referral techniques, will increase police training to include methods of dealing with social service provision (to equip the officer with professional skills). (1, 4)

Original Statistical Data:

Presents four tables and one chart discussing sample of 652 calls to police. The chart diagrams the average rate of calls per hour over the time of day and day of week. The tables classify types of calls received, compare types across day and hour of call, note which calls are likely to be followed by dispatch of a patrol car, and disposition of calls by classification.

Cummins, Marvin (1970) "Police and Service Work." American Behavioral Scientist, Vol. 13, No. 5/6 (May/August).

Issue Area: Police Social Service Provision

Citation Type: Descriptive

Referral Characteristics: None

Abstract: Based on observation of over 100 8-hour shifts spent riding in police patrol cars in a medium-sized suburb, this article concludes that police spend much of their time in service work. It categorizes police roles as "instrumental negotiator" and "emotional reassurer." Police service work has two major functions: to learn the social environment of the community, and to develop citizen cooperation and compliance with police activities.

Hypotheses:

- Role of beat patrolman is one of mediator and negotiator of personal and community problems, rather than one of law enforcer. (1)
- Service work tasks provided by police are often available from other agencies in the community. (3)
- Police service work fulfills a community relations function. (11)
- Service work has lower status among police officers than does law enforcement work. (4)

Original Statistical Data:

None reported, although conclusions drawn from direct observation of police activity.

Curtis, Patrick and Anita M. Lutkus (1976) "Attitudes Toward Police Social Work." A paper presented at the Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the American Association of Psychiatric Services for Children, held in San Francisco, California, November 10-14, 1976.

**Issue Area:** Police Social Service Provision

**Citation Type:** Analytical

**Referral Characteristics:** Voluntary, internal, formal

**Abstract:** Discusses police-social worker team model designed by Harvey Treger and implemented in Wilmette and Park Ridge, Illinois. Reports results of follow-up study of families who had had contact with a police social worker. Follow-up was conducted by mail. All families studied had been referred to a social worker because of a behavior problem of a child under the age of 18. In each city both a contacted group and a noncontacted control group received questionnaires. "The researchers conclude that most families have a positive attitude toward receiving social work services in a police department, that coercion in the referral process is not perceived by parents whose children become involved with the police, and that the environment of a police department does not impede parents' willingness to accept social work services, but may actually enhance the social workers' acceptability as a helping agent."

**Hypotheses:**

- Performing social work tasks will not soften the image of police held by citizens. (11)
- Police performing social work tasks will not result in citizens feeling coerced into receiving social services. (2)
- Given the choice of arrest or referral by police, most offenders prefer referral. (5)
- Citizens generally feel their police are doing a good job. (11)
- Police social work allows immediate service delivery to needy citizens. (10)
- Police referral increases the amount of police time spent on a case. (10)
- The existence of a social work team within the police department increases the number of police referrals made. (2)

## Original Statistical Data:

Provides SES data on respondents and tables showing: percentage of positive responses toward local police, counseling services in general, social workers in general, and police social workers; percentage of positive responses toward local police by four sample groups; comparison of positive attitudes of noncontact groups toward police social work; and comparison of positive attitudes toward police social work by arrested and nonarrested population. Also, 41 percent of respondents reported positive attitudes toward police due to past experience with police in which they described police as honest, courteous, and efficient.

Dash, S. (1974) "Means and Methods Employed in Penal Law." Criminal Law Bulletin, Vol. 10, No. 7 (July/August), 571-583.

Issue Area: General Diversion

Citation Type: Hypothetical

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, external, formal, offender referral

Abstract: Considers diversion to be directing a case away from the criminal justice system and includes under diversion such things as pretrial plea bargaining by prosecutors. Indicates diversion discriminates against the poor. Many cases are diverted from the criminal justice system without referral to any rehabilitation or treatment program.

Hypotheses:

- Socioeconomic status of offenders has a strong impact on likelihood of police referral, with poor offenders less likely than richer ones to be referred. (5)
- Frequency of police referral is unrelated to the availability of community agencies or rehabilitation or treatment facilities. (3)

Original Statistical Data: None

Dayton (OH) Bureau of Alcoholism and Drug Abuse (1972) Dayton Alcohol and Drug Rehabilitaiton Program: Final Report. Dayton, Ohio: Dayton Bureau of Alcoholism and Drug Abuse.

Issue Area: Public Drunkenness

Citation Type: Program Description

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary, external

Abstract: Describes the operations and accomplishments of Project Cure Inc. (drugs) of the Human Rehabilitation Center (drunks and alcoholics). Phase I of the alcohol program involved treatment, primarily medical, for 3 to 5 days at a detoxification center. About one third of those treated in Phase I were encouraged to enter Phase II, a long-range treatment program designed to cure alcoholics; people in this phase generally participated for about 5 weeks.

Hypotheses:

- Police referral of public drunks and drug abusers will relieve the police of costly and time-consuming work. (10)

Original Statistical Data:

Cites only length of stay of patients and percentage of Phase I participants encouraged to undergo treatment in Phase II.

Di Vito, Ettore R. (1975) "Station House Adjustments in Juvenile Cases." Police Law Quarterly, Vol. 4, No. 3 (April), 13-20.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Descriptive

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, internal, formal, offender referral

Abstract: Juvenile officers in police departments are thought to have superior knowledge and to conduct follow-up investigations more efficiently and effectively than patrolmen who handle juvenile cases. Specialization can, however, create morale problems within departments. Initial contact with juveniles and initial case investigation can be appropriately handled by patrol officers; they can issue a citation, or warn and release. If further inquiry is required the case should be referred to a juvenile officer. If the juvenile officer decides to release the child he should make an information report; a more detailed report is filed when children are taken into custody. Juveniles may also be counseled and released to their parents; this disposition may be accompanied by referral to a community agency.

Hypotheses:

- Station house adjustment promotes rehabilitation of the juvenile. (11)
- Police referral reduces court case load. (10)
- Patrolmen who handle juveniles tend to ignore their problems more so than would trained juvenile officers. (2)
- Juvenile officers follow up cases more efficiently than do nonspecialized officers. (2, 10)
- The type of station house adjustment is influenced by the seriousness of the incident and the perceived causes of the juvenile behavior. (5)

Original Statistical Data: None

Driscoll, James M., Robert G. Meyer, and Charles F. Schanie (1973) "Training Police in Family Crisis Intervention." Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, Vol. 9, No. 1, 62-82.

**Issue Area**: Domestic Crisis

**Citation Type**: Analytical

**Referral Characteristics**: Voluntary, external, formal

**Abstract**: Authors' abstract: "A program of family crisis intervention training for police, adapted from that implemented in New York City by Bard (1970), was conducted and evaluated. Twelve officers were given 5 to 6 hours of training, 5 days a week for 5 weeks. Officers were then assigned to regular duties. Questionnaire responses from officers 4 months into the project indicated increased understanding of family problems, greater acceptance of them by citizens, heightened receptivity to their suggestions, a decrease in the use of force, and an increase in overall effectiveness. Telephone interviews showed that citizens dealt with by trained officers, as compared to those dealt with by untrained officers, reported greater rapport between themselves and officers, greater involvement of officers, more satisfaction with the intervention, and an increased regard for the police."

**Hypotheses**:

- Most police agencies reject family trouble as a legitimate aspect of policing and give it low priority. (4)
- Most police agencies do not emphasize service functions. (1)
- Training police officers in family crisis intervention techniques will: decrease the number of family disturbance complaints, decrease recidivism, decrease the numbers of injuries to police officers, increase citizen satisfaction with police, increase police effectiveness in handling family crises, and increase officer rapport. (1, 11)
- If officers have ready access to directories of community resource agencies, it will increase the likelihood of police referral. (1)
- Family crisis intervention training is not aimed at police specialists, but will increase the patrolman's effectiveness in handling family crisis cases. (11)
- Trained officers resolve conflict much faster than untrained officers. (10)
- Crisis intervention training increases citizen satisfaction with police performance. (11)
- Trained police officers are more likely to make referrals than untrained officers are. (4)

- Community social service agencies are often indifferent to police referrals. (3)

Original Statistical Data:

Includes data from telephone questionnaire administered to clients after police contact and data from questionnaire administered to officers evaluating the training project. Referral rates (number of citizens contacted by police who eventually contacted a social service agency after being referred) are about 10-14 percent.

Duxbury, Elaine (1973) Evaluation of Youth Service Bureaus. Sacramento, California: Health and Welfare Agency, Department of the Youth Authority.

**Issue Area:** Juveniles

**Citation Type:** Analytical

**Referral Characteristics:** Voluntary, external, formal and informal, offender and citizen referral.

**Abstract:** Diversion is defined as the process whereby problems otherwise dealt with in a context of delinquency and official action will be defined and handled by other justice system means. The article presents considerable data on clients handled by Youth Service Bureaus. The data show that police did not make full use of YSB; the majority of the referrals to YSB came from individuals, not from police probation. Clients were most often referred because of some problem, such as health or unemployment, not usually associated with the juvenile system.

**Hypotheses:**

- Frequency of referral is negatively related to age of client. (5)
- Females and Whites are more likely to be referred than males and members of minority groups, respectively. (5)
- Frequency of referral to YSB varies with police departmental organization and characteristics. (2)
- Police refer juveniles to YSB about equally often for delinquent tendencies as for specific offenses. (5)
- Most police departments do not have specific criteria for determining when referral is a proper disposition. (1)
- Frequency of police referral is dependent upon attitudes of police officers and administrators. (4)
- Police referral to YSB reduces the recidivism rate. (11)

**Original Statistical Data:**

Presents data describing the characteristics of YSB clients, types of services provided by YSB, YSB's relationships with law enforcement agencies (number of referrals from police departments), and reduction in arrests for juvenile delinquency.

Ellingston, John R. (1948) Protecting our Children from Criminal Careers.
New York, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Hypothetical

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary, external, formal, offender referral

Abstract: Discusses causes of delinquency and possible means of community correction. Suggests three functions of police juvenile bureaus: handling youthful offenders taken into custody, preventing delinquency, and acting a liaison between the department and the community. Juvenile bureau's first recourse is release to parents; it can also direct juveniles to the courts or probation department or refer them to community agencies. Preferred order of case disposition would be release to parents, referral to community agency, direction to probation department, then petition to court.

Hypotheses:

- Most police cases involving juveniles are disposed of through release to parents. (3)
- Police referral is less likely in areas of low population concentration than in areas of high population concentration. (6)

Original Statistical Data: None

Erskine, Helen (1972) Alcohol and the Criminal Justice System: Challenge and Response. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Issue Area: Public Drunkenness

Citation Type: Program Description

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary, external, formal

Abstract: Describes several alcoholism detoxification programs, including the Vera Institute of Justice Bowery Project, Washington (DC) Detoxification Program, and St. Mary's Detoxification Center in St. Louis. Makes several recommendations for police handling of public drunks; they parallel those of the President's Commission and include decriminalization of public intoxication, establishment of detoxification and treatment centers, and police referral to those centers. Recommends civilian rescue teams, rather than patrolmen, be sent to pick up and transport public drunks. If police take drunks to detoxification centers officers must be carefully trained to recognize alcoholism as an illness.

Hypotheses:

- Civilian alcoholism rescue teams will decrease police time and resources spent in handling public drunks. (10)
- Police effectiveness in handling public drunks will be increased if police are properly trained in recognizing symptoms of alcoholism. (1, 11)

Original Statistical Data: None

Farmer, Richard E. and Victor A. Kowalewski (1976) Law Enforcement and Community Relations. Reston, Virginia: Reston Publishing Co., Inc.

Issue Area: Police Social Service Provision

Citation Type: Descriptive

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, external, informal

Abstract: The authors advocate the "full service model" for police agencies. They rely on previously reported data to refute arguments that police should provide "enforcement only" services (Cumming, Cumming, and Edell, 1965; Wilson, 1968). Role conflict develops when police training concentrates on law enforcement while actual duties involve service work. They support the idea of police departments providing social services and propose that the extent of services provided be determined through planning with social agencies. Planning increases cooperation between police and community agencies and results in better service to citizens. Crisis intervention training is viewed as a valuable tool for officers. The key to successful conflict management is law enforcement that keeps community peace while minimizing the use of force.

Hypotheses:

- Police training should stress the importance of social service delivery. (1)
- The 24-hour availability of the police and their deployment throughout the community makes them especially suitable for responding to emergency calls. (3)
- Police referral to community agencies results in better service provided to citizens. (11)

Original Statistical Data:

None. All data cited comes from previously published articles.

Flammang, C. J. (1972) Police Juvenile Enforcement. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Hypothetical

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary and involuntary, internal and external, formal, offender referral

Abstract: Cites two areas of police concern with disposition of juvenile cases: preliminary and final disposition. Lists criteria for detaining juveniles. Recommends development of a system in which a juvenile is given a citation to appear at police station with his parents at a later date. Pages 123-165 are particularly germane to police referral and disposition of juveniles.

Hypotheses:

- Police referral reduces the juvenile court case load. (10)
- Police referral often improves effectiveness of service delivery to juveniles. (11)
- Juveniles detained for minor offenses should either be released to parents or referred to community agencies. (1)
- Police should not become involved in handling juveniles in aftercare situations. (1)

Original Statistical Data: None

Gibbons, Don C. and Gerald F. Blake (1976) "Evaluating the Impact of Juvenile Diversion Programs." Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 22 (October), 411-420.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Evaluative

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary, external, informal, offender referral

Abstract: A review of nine studies that evaluate the outcomes of specific juvenile diversion programs. Most evaluations are flawed by small sample sizes, lack of proper control goups, and other methodological defects. As a result, most diversion proposals and programs are not able to substantiate their claims of effectiveness or efficiency. Effectiveness is measured by the extent to which the program is directed at the target population for which it was intended -- were clients able to obtain easy access, and were obstacles to initiation of programs with appropriate clients avoided? Efficiency is measured by the frequency and quality of service delivery. Included in the review are studies by Klein (1975) and Rutherford and McDermott (1975).

Hypotheses:

- Creation of diversion programs results in alterations in traditional police referral practices and in police officer attitudes. (4)
- Police referrals to community agencies have increased significantly since 1970, but remain relatively low. (3)
- Police referral is largely determined by the client's age, sex, prior record, and seriousness of offense. (5)
- Police referral rates are positively related to the amount of outside funds received by departments. (8)
- Police referral is positively related to a decrease in recidivism. (11)
- Police referral is negatively related to a decrease in recidivism (the target population obtains a higher visibility). (11)

Original Statistical Data: None

Glaser, Daniel and Vincent O'Leary (1966) Parole Decision-Making: The Alcoholic Offender. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development.

**Issue Area:** Public Drunkenness

**Citation Type:** Descriptive

**Referral Characteristics:** None

**Abstract:** Contains data on drunkenness arrests. In 1962 the median age of arrested inebriates was 42. A Rochester (NY) study conducted in 1953-54 found that the average arrestee had 16.5 prior arrests, 12.8 of which were for public intoxification; the most common other crime committed by drunks was larceny. Other studies are cited showing that between 15 percent and 29 percent of criminals were intoxicated when arrested. Approximately one third of police arrests in 1962 were for public intoxication.

**Hypotheses:**

- Public drunks should be treated in some manner other than arrest by police. (11)

**Original Statistical Data:**

Data cited in abstract was from a 1962 study conducted by the authors.

Goldman, Nathan (1969) "The Differential Selection of Juvenile Offenders for Court Appearance." In William Chambliss, ed. Crime and the Legal Process. New York, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 264-290.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, external, formal, offender referral

Abstract: A study of the differences between juveniles known to both police and courts (through police direction or information provision) and those known only to police. It found that differential selection of juvenile offenders for court appearance did exist, and that arrest and court referral rates varied among communities.

Hypotheses:

- Seriousness of offense is negatively related to the likelihood of police referral to community agencies, but positively related to number of court petitions. (7)
- Race is strongly related to the likelihood of police referral of juveniles to community agencies. (Minority group members are less likely to be referred.) (5)
- Likelihood of police referral of juveniles is positively related to the closeness of relations between the police and community agencies. (3)

Original Statistical Data:

The study contains data on the differential handling of juvenile offenders, but contains no data directly related to police referral of juveniles to community agengies.

Goldstein, Arnold P., Philip J. Monti, Thomas J. Sardino, and Donald J. Green (1977) Police Crisis Intervention. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Behaviordelia.

**Issue Area:** Domestic Crisis, Public Drunkenness

**Citation Type:** Analytical, Training Manual

**Referral Characteristics:** Voluntary and involuntary, external, informal, offender and victim referral

**Abstract:** An explanation of how police officers should respond to calls from people in crisis, this article examines various styles of crisis intervention and discusses in detail five types of crises: family disputes, mental disturbances, drug and alcohol intoxication, rape, and suicide. Referral is discussed under each topic, but receives particular mention in the chapter on family disputes. The majority of family disturbances are noncriminal in nature; therefore, police referral is frequently appropriate once the disputants have been calmed.

**Hypotheses:**

- Proper police training in handling crisis intervention calls will reduce the number of police injuries. (10)
- Police referral is the most effective way of delivering services to persons involved in family disturbances. (11)
- Departmental requirements, such as patrol officer maintenance of a social service agency directory, increase both the number and effectiveness of police referrals. (1, 11)

**Original Statistical Data:**

No original data appears; all reported data are from other sources.

Haggard, Lenore (1976) "Effect of the Myers Act on the Criminal Justice System in Alachua County." Tallahassee, Florida: University of Florida, Department of Political Science. Mimeo.

Issue Area: Public Drunkenness

Citation Type: Descriptive, Analytical

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary and involuntary, external, formal

Abstract: This article discusses the legal history behind the decriminalization of public drunkenness in Florida and the United States. It outlines the hypotheses underlying the move toward decriminalization and explains why public intoxication is widely accepted today as a public health problem rather than a criminal problem. The Myers Act was specifically designed to relieve a burden on courts, police, corrections, and other law enforcement agencies. Treatment is largely voluntary; involuntary treatment is restricted to those in danger of serious harm or who represent a danger to others. The article describes options open to police officers under Florida law. They can take drunks home (handle informally) or send them to appropriate treatment facilities; they can also detain drunks in protective custody for 12 hours, arrest for disorderly conduct and take to jail, or ignore the situation.

Hypotheses:

- Criminal disposition of public drunks by police wastes police resources that could be devoted to fighting crime. (10)
- The shift from criminal to medical procedures for handling drunks will increase effectiveness of treatment. (11)
- When a law conflicts with established methods for handling a particular problem, police are less likely to refer. (7)
- Lack of police training in handling public drunks will lead to fewer police referrals. (1)
- Police referral decreases the number of arrests and decreases police expenses for detention. (10)
- Police referral of public drunks does not reduce police handling time. (11)
- Police referral of public drunks, rather than arrest, decreases the number of police contacts with drunks. (10)

## Original Statistical Data:

Data is presented from figures provided by the Gainesville (FL) Police Department showing that alcohol-related arrests have decreased since the passage of the Myers Act. Forty-four percent of public inebriates are handled by police informally, 32 percent are arrested, and 24 percent are taken to detoxification centers. The Myers Act has increased police referral by 50 percent. Data is also presented showing the reduction in number of alcohol-related cases handled by police officers. Data is also estimated on the amount of time spent by officers in making referrals. The author presents no data on monetary savings to police departments.

Harlow, Eleanor, J. Robert Weber, and Fred Cohen (1971) Diversion from the Criminal Justice System. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office. National Institute of Mental Health monograph series.

Issue Area: Police Social Service Provision

Citation Type: Descriptive

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, external, formal, offender referral

Abstract: Informal case disposition occurs in both the juvenile and adult court systems. The decision to divert is influenced by a number of factors, including specificity of laws, nature of the offense, circumstances of the offense, victim's attitude, character of the accused, likelihood of stigmatization, and volume of cases. Arrest data indicate most court cases involve violations of "moral norms" rather than serious criminal behavior. Also listed are arguments against informal prejudicial processing and trends in diversion.

Hypotheses:

- The establishment of diversion programs has brought a larger number of individuals under state control. (1, 7)
- Diversion programs seldom provide treatment for individuals. (2)
- Diversion programs often do not operate in accordance with due process of law. (7)
- Persons sent to treatment centers involuntarily usually remain there longer than individuals sent to prison for similar offenses. (3)
- Diversion is applied inconsistently. (9)

Original Statistical Data: None

Hewitt, William H. (1975) "Non-Victim Crime: Some Police Perspectives." In Jack Kinton, ed. Police Roles in the Seventies: Professionalization in America. Aurora, Illinois: Social Science and Sociological Resources, 147-166.

Issue Area: Public Drunkenness

Citation Type: Descriptive

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary and involuntary, internal and external, informal

Abstract: This article lists five police options for handling public drunks: jailing drunks overnight, charging them with public intoxication, charging them with vagrancy, ignoring them, or referring them to a social agency. Hewitt argues that the common drunk is not a criminal. Most progressive police departments do not charge drunks with criminal offenses. After two police pick-ups, though, the drunk should be required to participate in a counseling or treatment program.

Hypotheses:

- Police handling of public drunks overloads the police, clogs courts, crowds jails, and costs the public considerable money. (10)
- Police lack the expertise and training to become involved in administering detoxification programs. (1, 4)
- Police should refer alcoholics to the proper social service agency. (1, 3)

Original Statistical Data: None

Hohenstein, William F. (1969) "Factors Influencing the Police Disposition of Juvenile Offenders." In Thorsten Sellin and Marvin E. Wolfgang, eds. Delinquency, Selected Studies. New York, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 138-149.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, internal and external, formal, offender referral

Abstract: This study is based upon 501 events of juvenile delinquency in Philadelphia in 1960. It uses the predictive attribute analysis technique in which a sample is sequentially split into subgroups to yield a series of subgroups that will reduce the most error in predicting the dependent variable -- case disposition. The results indicate that the primary factor in predicting disposition is the attitude of the victim. Other important factors are the offender's previous record and seriousness of the offense. The age and sex of the offender were not useful in predicting disposition.

Hypotheses:

- The offender is less likely to be arrested if the victim expresses a preference against prosecution. (5)
- When the victim expresses no preference for or against prosecution, the offender is more likely to be arrested if he has more than one prior arrest. (5, 7)
- When the victim expresses no preference with regard to prosecution, and the offender has more than one previous arrest, the more serious the offense, the more likely the offender to be arrested. (5, 7)

Original Statistical Data:

Data is presented showing percentages of juveniles arrested; predictive attribute analysis coefficients are also computed.

International City Management Association (1975) "Boston Detox Model for Sale." *Target*, Vol. 4 (September), 4-5.

**Issue Area**: Public Drunkenness

**Citation Type**: Program Description

**Referral Characteristics**: Involuntary, external, informal

**Abstract**: Discusses the Boston Detoxification Center, established after Massachusetts decriminalized public drunkenness in 1973. One of the major problems of the Center is the variation in cooperation of neighboring police departments in referring drunks.

**Hypotheses**:

- Despite passage of laws decriminalizing public drunkenness, different police departments will handle drunks in different ways. (1)

**Original Statistical Data**: None

Kahn, Alfred J. (1951c) Police and Children: A Study of the Juvenile Aid Bureau of the New York City Police Department. New York, New York: Citizen's Committee on Children in New York City, Inc. (June).

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Program Description

Referral Characteristics: Internal, formal, offender referral

Abstract: The Juvenile Aid Bureau of the New York City Police Department was established to prevent delinquency and to reduce justice system impact on juveniles. One of its mandates was, where appropriate, to refer cases to community agencies. Children charged with violations other than felonies or a very few other specified offenses are not to be arrested except on the recommendation of a Juvenile Aid Bureau officer. Disturbed children or those with family problems are usually released to parents with an accompanying referral to schools or other social agencies. Case disposition is often determined by the seriousness of the offense. The Juvenile Aid Bureau maintains a service unit that investigates juveniles' family situations; it may drop a case, petition it to court, or continue supervisory visits to the child at home.

Hypotheses:

- Given the choice between referring cases to an internal police unit or a community social service agency, most officers will refer to the internal unit. (4)
- The likelihood of referral to community agencies is positively related to the perceived adequacy of the referral agency. (3)
- Many persons referred to community agencies are unable or unwilling to initiate contact with the agency. (5)
- Police referral to communitv social service agencies is more likely to be followed by a time lag in citizen contact than is police referral to internal specialized units. (2)
- Police referral to community social service agencies is more likely than referral to internal units if officers staffing those units are poorly trained (3, 4)

Original Statistical Data:

The book contains some description of program efforts, but no analysis is reported.

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Kenney, John P. and Dan G. Pursuit (1970) Police Work with Juveniles and the Administration of Juvenile Justice. Fourth Edition. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Descriptive

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary and involuntary, internal and external, formal and informal, offender referral

Abstract: The book describes the entire range of police-juvenile interactions, discusses police agency structure, and equates referral with the disposition of the juvenile case. It describes prejudicial disposition out of court (release by police, referral to community agencies) and prejudicial disposition in court (consent decree, preliminary consent conference). Police have three major alternatives for case disposition: release to parents, referral to social agencies, and petition to juvenile court. The book also recommends various criteria for determining proper case disposition, including number of previous offenses, type of offense, needs of the juvenile, desire of the minor and the parents to receive help, and the presence of family problems.

Hypotheses:

- Only "serious" cases will not be released or referred. (7)
- Social agencies can handle minor juvenile cases effectively. (3, 11)

Original Statistical Data: None

Klein, Malcolm W. (1973) "Issues in Police Diversion of Juvenile Offenders: A Guide for Discussion." In Gary B. Adams, et al., eds. Juvenile Justice Management. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 375-422.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Literature Review

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, external, formal

Abstract: This literature review defines diversion, insertion, referral, absorption, and normalization. It diagrams the referral process and lists variables influencing diversion rates and absorption of juveniles into the community. It describes the goals of Youth Service Bureaus as set by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967).

Hypotheses:

- Police officer attitudes are related to the likelihood of referral. (4)
- Practical problems of policing are related to the likelihood of referral. (2)
- Attitude and personality of alleged offender is related to the likelihood of referral. (5)
- Race of alleged offender is related to the likelihood of referral. (5)
- Degree of criminal sophistication of offense is negatively related to the likelihood of referral. (7)

Original Statistical Data: None

Klein, Malcolm W. (1974) "Labeling, Deterrence, and Recidivism -- A Study of Police Dispositions of Juvenile Offenders." Social Problems, Vol. 22, No. 2 (December), 292-303.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: External, offender referral

Abstract: Eight California police departments with high diversion rates and five with low rates were studied to determine the effects on subsequent behavior of labeling juveniles as delinquents. Several possible police case dispositions were noted, including handling within the agency, referral to community or welfare agencies, referral to other criminal justice agencies without court petition, and petitioning to juvenile court. The study found that departments with high diversion rates did not produce recidivism rates any lower than departments with lower diversion rates, except for recidivism rates among multiple offenders. High diversion departments showed lower recidivism rates for first offenders than for repeat offenders; departments with lower diversion rates did not exhibit this difference.

Hypotheses:

- Diversion of first offenders reduces likelihood of recidivism. (11)
- Diversion of multiple offenders does not change likelihood that juveniles will be involved in repeat offenses. (11)
- Departments with high diversion rates will have lower recidivism rates for first offenders than will departments with low diversion rates. (11)
- Departments with high diversion rates will have higher recidivism rates for multiple offenders than will departments with low diversion rates. (11)

Original Statistical Data:

Klein reported diversion rates for eight high-diversion departments and five low-diversion departments; he also reported recidivism rates by department and rate of diversion.

Klein, Malcolm W. (1976a) "Issues and Realities in Police Diversion Programs." Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 22, No. 4 (October), 421-427.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Hypothetical

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary and involuntary, internal and external, formal and informal, offender referral

Abstract: This article updates a series of issues concerning police diversion originally published in 1971, and adds several new ideas. Among the diversion topics covered are: appropriateness, separatism, court decisions, normalization, diversion criteria, community tolerance, absorption mechanisms, impact of stigmatization, replacing old stigma with new ones, resource location, locus of control, and operational meanings of diversion. Klein concludes that police involvement in diversion, while increasing at a rapid rate, has been so tentative and exploratory that a withdrawal could not be difficult. Diversion has been appended to most police departments, rather than incorporated into their structures. He predicts that diversion programs will not last since municipalities are not likely to fund them at the local level; in the absence of federal and state funding, diversion programs cannot last.

Hypotheses:

- By establishing referral agencies outside the police department, the levels of follow-through and accountability are increased. (2, 3)
- Police generally will not attempt to divert repeat offenders. (4, 5)
- Referral is effective in reducing recidivism. (11)
- Police establish more internal referral agents than extra-departmental agents because they prefer to retain as much control over the referral process as possible. (1, 2)
- Community referral agencies are more effective than police agencies because they can establish better rapport. (3, 11)
- Police will not continue to participate in diversion/referral programs once they must depend on municipal funding alone. (8)

Original Statistical Data: None

Klein, Malcolm W., Kathie S. Teilmann, Joseph H. Styles, Suzanne Bergas Lincoln, and Susan Labin-Rosensweig (1976) "The Explosion in Police Diversion Programs: Evaluating the Structural Dimensions of a Social Fad." In Malcolm W. Klein, ed. The Juvenile Justice System. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 101-119.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Hypothetical, Literature Review

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary and involuntary, internal and external, formal and informal, offender referral

Abstract: Juvenile diversion is viewed as a fad serving multiple and conflicting goals. The article evaluates the rationale behind diversion, listing six primary reasons for its popularity and demonstrating how they have been operationally subverted. Many diversion programs have had the effect of "widening the net," of handling more juveniles than would have been handled had not diversion taken place; most of the diverted population commit only minor acts and would normally be released. The article discusses six structural ways of creating diversion programs that the police use to ensure their control over the programs. The article distinguished between diversion and referral, repeating the definitions first used in 1973; diversion means turning an individual away from the criminal justice system, while referral means directing him toward a public or private, nonjustice system agency.

Hypotheses:

- Diversion decreases the number of cases handled by the justice system. (10)
- Diversion decreases the cost of processing individuals through the criminal justice system. (10)
- Diversion decreases the stigmitization attached to offenders. (11)
- Juveniles charged with less serious crimes, who come from better homes, who are very young, and who are White are more likely to be referred; while juveniles who are charged with major crimes, come from less stable homes, who are older, and who are Black, are less likely to be referred. (5)

Original Statistical Data:

None. Authors report data from several previous studies conducted by Klein and others.

Kowalewski, Victor A. (1975) "Police and Social Service Agencies: Breaking the Barriers." Police Chief, Vol. 42 (September), 259-262.

**Issue Area:** Police Social Service Provision

**Citation Type:** Descriptive

**Referral Characteristics:** Internal

**Abstract:** Historically, police have provided social services, thus contradicting the current view that the traditional police role involves only law enforcement. There has been a sharp increase in citizen expectations concerning local police services; up to 70 percent of the calls of many large police agencies are noncriminal. Kowalewski describes a New Britain (CT) program in which police joined with social service agencies to plan and coordinate a system of social service delivery. It involved a reevaluation of both police and service agency roles.

**Hypotheses:**

- Mutual trust between police and social service agencies can improve the quality of community social service delivery. (3, 11)
- Police agencies available 24 hours a day are more amenable to providing some social services than are community agencies. (3, 10, 11)

**Original Statistical Data:**

Social service requests increased in New Britain from 5,602 in 1962 to 28,491 in 1972, while population remained relatively stable. Police estimated that approximately 70 percent of all calls were requests for nonenforcement services.

LaFave, Wayne R. (1962) "The Police and Nonenforcement of the Law -- Parts I and II." Wisconsin Law Review, Vol. 1962 (January), 104-137; (March), 177-239.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Hypothetical

Referral Characteristics: External, informal, offender referral

Abstract: Police discretion is a necessary part of the criminal justice system and should be so recognized. Limitations upon police manpower and budgets force police officers to use discretion. Discretion is also exercised when the officer feels an arrest would cause excessive harm. However, the decision to insert an individual into the criminal justice system may be better made by some agencies other than the police department. One solution would be to have police officers refer individuals to those agencies for a decision on whether to prosecute.

Hypotheses:

- Limitations on police manpower and expenditures prevent officers from arresting all offenders. (8)
- Police do not always make arrests because they feel insertion of the offender into the criminal justice system would cause excessive harm. (4, 7)

Original Statistical Data: None

Lemert, E. M. (1971) Instead of Court: Diversion in Juvenile Justice. Chevy Chase, Maryland: National Institute of Mental Health, Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Hypothetical

Referral Characteristics: External, formal, offender referral

Abstract: Lemert argues that juvenile cases should be diverted from the courts because of the high case load; courts are handling cases that should be handled elsewhere. He discusses the possibility of handling juvenile offenses in the schools, through welfare programs, community agencies, and the police. Police diversion is among the most extensive types of diversion currently in practice. Police encounter youth problems more frequently than other agencies, and often must deal with these problems at the point of occurrence. Police have both coercive and symbolic authority, something community agencies often lack.

Hypotheses:

- Police diversion will reduce court case load. (10)
- Police diversion may be coercive. (9)

Original Statistical Data: None

Lincoln, Susan Boggs (1976) "Juvenile Referral and Recidivism." In Robert M. Carter and Malcolm W. Klein, eds. Back on the Street: The Diversion of Juvenile Offenders. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 321-328.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, external, formal, offender referral

Abstract: This study of juvenile offenders under the jurisdiction of a large, metropolitan police department compared matched groups of referred and nonreferred juveniles. Little difference was found between the groups as to the age or proportion of juveniles who committed at least one offense subsequent to referral; groups differed on the average number of subsequent offenses, with the referred group having the higher number.

Hypotheses:

- Referral is positively related to recidivism. (11)

Original Statistical Data:

Percentages are presented describing the characteristics of both the referred and nonreferred groups: race, disposition of case, number of offenders committing subsequent offenses, seriousness of offense, age, residency, and ethnicity, among other factors.

McEachern, A. W. and Riva Bauzer (1967) "Factors Related to Disposition in Juvenile Police Contacts." In Malcolm W. Klein, ed. Juvenile Gangs in Context: Theory, Research and Action. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 148-160.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, external, formal, offender referral

Abstract: Samples of juvenile cases handled by the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department and the Santa Monica Police Department were used in this study. Case dispositions were dichotomized according to whether or not a case was petitioned to juvenile court. The article also lists factors found to be significantly related to disposition.

Hypotheses:

- Offenders' sex, family background, previous offenses, nature of the offense, and age are significantly related to case disposition. (5)
- Dispositions of similar cases will vary across police departments. (6)
- Disposition of a case is significantly related to the attitudes of the individual officer who handled it. (4)
- Race of the alleged offender is not significantly related to case disposition. (5)

Original Statistical Data:

Tables display data classifying offenses, the number of each occurring, and the proportion of petitions requested; relations between individual and incident characteristics and requests for petition; proportions of petitions requested by several characteristics of offender; and proportion of petitions requested for different offenses and referring agency.

McGee, Richard K. (1974) Crisis Intervention in the Community. Baltimore, Maryland: University Park Press.

**Issue Area:** Domestic Crisis Intervention

**Citation Type:** Descriptive, Hypothetical

**Referral Characteristics:** Voluntary, internal and external, informal

**Abstract:** This article is a collection of observations about the delivery of emergency mental health services and domestic crisis intervention in Knoxville (TE), Gainesville (FL), St. Petersburg (FL), and other cities. Ten crisis centers were studied through questionnaires administered from 1967 to 1970. McGee notes the necessity of these centers to cooperate with the police. Sometimes the center personnel assist police in formulating "psychological autopsies" when a death involves the possibility of suicide.

**Hypotheses:**

- The greater the cooperation between police and community agencies, the better the services provided to citizens. (3, 11)
- If police perceive crisis centers as staffed by competent professionals, they will make more referrals than if the police have negative perceptions of the centers. (3, 4)
- Police should refer as many crisis cases to agencies as possible since they are not adequately trained to handle crises. (3, 4)
- Police crisis intervention can exacerbate the problem. (11)
- Police departments could establish internal crisis intervention units, since the basic structure of the service unit is compatible with police organization. (2)
- Police are not able to provide proper follow-up case investigation; this should be left to crisis care centers. (3, 11)

**Original Statistical Data:**

Data relates to the number and types of calls to various crisis hotlines, along with other data relevant to each crisis intervention program.

Meyer, John C. (1974) "Patterns of Reporting Noncriminal Incidents to the Police." Criminology, Vol. 12, No. 1 (May), 70-83.

Issue Area: Calls for Police Service

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: None

Abstract: This article reports the results of a study of patterns of reporting noncriminal incidents to police. It discusses traditional theories of crime reporting by citizens. Citizen reporting arises from a desire to avoid certain outcomes if situations are allowed to run their course without police intervention. Meyer studied patrol operations in a city of 25,000 for 14 months, and observed 500 citizen-police transactions. Probability of police action was defined as the frequency of calls resulting in police action divided by the total number of calls received (organized by type of call). For all noncriminal calls the probability of police action was .65. Citizens call on police in noncriminal matters for four reasons: to maintain a threatened social boundary; to relieve an unpleasant situation; to remove the blame from themselves; and to help in situations where there is a real need for emergency assistance.

Hypotheses: None

Original Statistical Data:

The article presents probability of police action scores for each of several noncriminal types of calls.

Mills, Gregg (1973) "The Development of the Full-Service Model, New York City Police Department." Unpublished paper prepared for Harvard Business School. Mimeo.

Issue Area: Police Social Service Provision

Citation Type: Analytical, Descriptive

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary, internal, informal

Abstract: The author presents a description of how the Sandler-Mintz full-service model was developed and implemented in the New York City Police Department. He describes the general background of the project, the political decisions involved, and the personal background of the key actors. He discusses the need for police to reorient their goals, citing data on percentage of calls for service and amount of time spent on service calls. He discusses Bard's New York City Project, which was the forerunner of the full-service model. The aim of the full-service model is to reorient police behavior with respect to both service and law enforcement, not to focus on service instead of law enforcement.

Hypotheses: None

Original Statistical Data:

The article includes data on the number of injuries to police officers, the percentage of departmental calls that are service-related, the percentage of total runs that are dispute runs, and the length of time spent on crisis intervention calls.

Mintz, Ellen and Georgette Bennett Sandler (1973) "A Full Service Model for the New York City Police Department." Unpublished report. Mimeo.

**Issue Area:** Police Social Service Provision

**Citation Type:** Descriptive

**Referral Characteristics:** Voluntary, external

**Abstract:** This article contains a grid with definitions and examples of the main components of the full-service model. This model requires four interdependent orientations for the officer: professional, human relations, community relations, and law enforcement. Each is defined in the grid and aspects of each orientation are explained along with examples of what is involved in preparing for each orientation. The conclusion lists the primary goals of the model. Community orientation is included under the community relations orientation. One example is the family crisis squad; other examples include various methods of treating juveniles. The full-service model concept is supposed to improve police effectiveness and morale while achieving professionalism. It is designed to reduce role conflict by making each interdependent orientation a part of the officer's job.

**Hypotheses:**

- Police officers should be trained in crisis intervention skills to improve their effectiveness in handling these types of calls. (1, 11)
- Police diversion of juveniles should be encouraged. (1)
- Police referral can reduce juvenile delinquency and help prevent crime. (11)

**Original Statistical Data:**

Data focuses primarily on amount of time police officers spend on social service calls.

Monahan, Thomas P. (1969) "National Data on Police Disposition of Juvenile Offenders." Police (September/October), 36-45.

**Issue Area**: Juveniles

**Citation Type**: Analytical

**Referral Characteristics**: None

**Abstract**: FBI statistics were used to report on juvenile arrest rates by city size and region of the country. Using data from 1965-1966, the author found significant variation in the number of offenders and in case dispositions by state and region.

**Hypotheses**:

- Court action against juveniles occurs more often in large cities and rural areas than in middle-sized cities. (6)
- In proportion to the population, rural areas have the fewest number of juvenile cases and juvenile court referrals. (6)
- Number of juvenile offenders varies significantly from community to community. (6)
- The percentage of juveniles released by police without court referral varies with community size and by region. (6)

**Original Statistical Data**:

The author presents data on number of juvenile offenders by state and region, and by juvenile case disposition by state and region. Data on juvenile dispositions are also compared between cities and rural areas.

Myren, Richard A. and Lynn D. Swanson (1962) Police Work with Children: Perspectives and Principles. Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Children's Bureau, Pub. No. 399.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Hypothetical

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary and involuntary, external, formal and informal

Abstract: Police referral partially involves providing patrol officers with information on community agencies that can then be passed on to individuals. The author suggests that police should not become heavily involved with providing social services; the rule should be, when in doubt, refer the case to court. There are dangers in referral; most referral programs imply at the very least elements of coercion. Additionally, police follow through on few referrals.

Hypotheses:

- High levels of police discretion are positively related to likelihood of police referral. (9)
- Police do not function effectively in a counseling role. (11)
- Police referrals to community agencies are usually coercive. (3)
- Police make only perfunctory efforts to follow through on most referrals and community agencies often fail to contact juveniles that are referred. (3, 11)

Original Statistical Data: None

Nejelski, Paul (1976) "Diversion: The Promise and the Danger." Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 22, No. 4 (October), 393-410.

**Issue Area:** Juveniles

**Citation Type:** Hypothetical

**Referral Characteristics:** Voluntary and involuntary, external, offender referral

**Abstract:** This article defines diversion, then describes four diversion projects, analyzes their common characteristics, and assesses their value. Diversion projects are dangerous to the extent that they may destroy the necessary balance between social welfare and due process. In many cases, administrative agencies have taken over work that is properly that of juvenile courts. Diversion may create a coercive social control system with less visibility and accountability than the courts. Diversion is defined as channeling cases to noncourt institutions in instances where these cases would ordinarily have received an adjudicatory or fact-finding hearing by a court. Diversion is not synonomous with prevention.

**Hypotheses:**

- Existence of social service agencies, which accept police referrals, provides an immediacy of service that save police considerable time. (3, 10)
- Referral by police agencies provides flexibility in a system overburdened with requests for service. (10)
- Police referral may lead to pathologies for juveniles because of the absence of judicial consent. (11)
- Police referral may be coercive. (1)

**Original Statistical Data:** None

Nimmer, Raymond T. (1971) Two Million Unnecessary Arrests -- Removing Social Service from the Criminal Justice System. Chicago, Illinois: American Bar Association.

Issue Area: Public Drunkenness

Citation Type: Hypothetical, Descriptive

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary and involuntary, external, formal and informal

Abstract: This article argues that public intoxication should be decriminalized and that police arrests are a waste of time and resources. Skid-row drunks could be offered better services if the police simply referred them to treatment centers. Detoxification programs in St. Louis (MO), Washington, D.C., and New York City are described. New systems for dealing with drunks should be developed. These would involve not labeling drunks as offenders; rather, they would involve providing medical and rehabilitation centers, establishing special units to handle drunks in the field and providing transportation to detoxification centers. The current procedures for dealing with drunks are failures; no system for handling drunks would be better than the one currently in use.

Hypotheses:

- For police referral of public drunks to be successful, officers must be convinced that any new system is better than the old one. (4)
- Police require proper training in handling drunks without arrest. (1, 4)
- Police referral of public drunks will be unsuccessful unless there are proper facilities established to handle them. (3, 10, 11)

Original Statistical Data:

No tabular displays, but text interspersed with data on number of arrests of drunks, case dispositions, percentage treated, etc.

Ottenberg, D. J. and E. L. Carpey, eds. (1974) "Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Eagleville Conference 6-8 June 1973." Rockville, Maryland: U.S. Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Publication No. ADM-74-96.

Issue Area: Public Drunkenness

Citation Type: Conference Proceedings, Program Description

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary, external

Abstract: This article describes the operations of the Eagleville Hospital and Rehabilitation Center, a chemical dependency treatment facility. The theme of the 1973 conference was alcoholism. One panel dealt with the relationship of the alcoholic to the criminal justice system. Alcoholics are generally ignored as far as treatment referrals are concerned; police have considerable discretionary power to arrest. The participants agreed that building a screening and referral unit staffed by an alcohol and drug evaluator into precinct operation, or instructing officers to divert alcoholics to treatment facilities, was necessary and overdue.

Hypotheses:

- Police administrators should incorporate alcoholic referral units into their operations to insure that public drunks receive better treatment. (2, 10, 11)
- Police referral of public drunks will increase the quality of treatment received by clients. (11)

Original Statistical Data: None

Owens, Robert P. (1973) "Police Officer Attitude Change Toward Detoxification." Police Chief (July), 38-39.

Issue Area: Public Drunkenness

Citation Type: Program Description

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary, external

Abstract: This article discusses a program that resulted in police undergoing a significant attitude change toward placing inebriates in detoxification centers. Prior to its inception, officers were in favor of arresting drunks; as shown by questionnaire data from surveys administered to officers, they softened their attitudes on arrest and toward detoxification centers.

Hypotheses:

- Acceptance of detoxification by police officers depends on program management; police favor longer term retention of the inebriate. (3, 4)

Original Statistical Data:

The article includes data on the number of arrests for public intoxication, which declined 50 percent over a two-year period; and data on total arrests which increased 4 percent during the same period.

Parnas, Raymond (1967) "The Police Response to the Domestic Disturbance." Wisconsin Law Review (Fall), 914-960.

Issue Area: Domestic Crisis, Police Social Service Provision

Citation Type: Hypothetical, Program Description

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary, internal and external, informal

Abstract: This article describes in detail several domestic crisis intervention programs that use the Chicago Police Department as the primary example. It offers significant detail on referral at the dispatch desk. It describes police behavior in handling social problems, notably the domestic crisis. Programs were selected for study for three reasons: the volume of calls, the use of discretionary methods of adjustment by the patrolman, and the officer's role in giving assistance to alleged offenders as well as to complainants.

Hypotheses:

- Since initial responsibility for handling disturbance calls lies with the police, they must make internal changes to deal more effectively with these types of calls. (2)
- Police cannot effectively render social services. (11)
- Police usually refer poor and uneducated people as a result of domestic disturbances. (5)
- Police require more training to adequately handle domestic disturbances. (1, 4)
- Officer discretion in handling disturbance calls is not only unavoidable, but desirable. (9)
- Dispatcher referral is a perfectly acceptable means of resolving a problem. (2)
- Referral of domestic disturbance cases to community agencies is a more permanent means of resolving disputes than is either arrest or counseling at the scene. (11)

Original Statistical Data: None

Parnas, Raymond (1971) "Police Discretion and Diversion of Incidents of Intra-Family Violence." Law and Contemporary Problems, Vol. 36, 539-565.

**Issue Area:** Domestic Crisis

**Citation Type:** Hypothetical, Analytical

**Referral Characteristics:** Voluntary, internal and external, informal, offender referral

**Abstract:** Parnas argues that there are some calls for police service that should be diverted from the criminal justice system. These calls include public drunkenness, traffic violations, and domestic assault. One reason for his argument is that these types of cases are often ineffectively handled by police and overload the court system. He refers to Bard's study of family crises in New York City, since his primary focus is on domestic disputes that involve violence. Violence in family crises differs from other violence in that it fits less clearly with accepted notions of criminal behavior. Family crisis intervention programs operating in several cities are described.

**Hypotheses:**

- Most officers feel that handling domestic disputes is not real police work. (4)
- Police tend to favor temporary adjustment of disputes, rather than arrest. (4)
- Police diversion often occurs at the dispatch desk. (1, 2)
- Police referral will be effective if it reduces recidivism. (11)
- Lengthy training sessions are not required to teach police how to better handle domestic disturbances. (1, 4)

**Original Statistical Data:** None

Piliavin, Irving and Scott Briar (1964) "Police Encounters with Juveniles." American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 70, No. 2 (September), 206-214.

**Issue Area:** Juveniles

**Citation Type:** Analytical

**Referral Characteristics:** Voluntary and involuntary, external, formal and informal, offender referral

**Abstract:** Juvenile officers were found to be an elite group within the police department, exercising considerable discretion in dealing with juveniles. Discretion is encouraged by the departmental manual and by expectations that juvenile officers try to prevent delinquency and are interested in reducing the number of juveniles sent to court. The study concluded that the seriousness of the offense and the demeanor of the youth involved influenced case disposition.

**Hypotheses:**

- Juvenile officers are reluctant to expose certain categories of youth to the juvenile court system. (4, 5)
- High case loads and a lack of training of correctional and social service workers leads to low police confidence in their effectiveness in aiding delinquents. (3, 4)
- Exercise of discretion by police officers is more common when it is sanctioned by official departmental policy than when it is not. (1, 9)
- Persons committing serious offenses are more likely to be sent to court than are persons committing minor offenses. (5, 7)
- Police officers' assessment of juvenile character plays a major role in disposition of the case. (4, 5)
- Demeanor of the juvenile plays a major role in disposition of the case. (5)

**Original Statistical Data:**

A table is displayed showing the severity of police disposition by youth's demeanor.

Pitchess, Peter J. (1974) "Law Enforcement Screening for Diversion." California Youth Authority Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Spring), 49-64.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Program Description

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, external, formal, offender referral

Abstract: The police are viewed as working within a web of interlocking interdependent units to bring about social improvement. Diversion may be either preventive or corrective; the former occurs in the predelinquent stage, the latter applies to the more recalcitrant offender. Juveniles contacted by the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department are routed through an internal juvenile bureau to an external organization. The bureau pursues an aggressive outreach and follow-up policy. Diversion is necessary because it lowers costs, increases community safety, and reduces the juvenile's chances of subsequent arrest.

Hypotheses:

- Costs of police referral are less than those of court processing. (10)
- Police referral improves community relations. (11)
- Police referral decreases the juvenile's chances of future arrest. (11)

Original Statistical Data: None

Pittman, David J. (1975) "Interaction Between Skid Row People and Law Enforcement and Health Officials." In Jack Kinton, ed. Police Roles in the Seventies: Professionalization in America. Aurora, Illinois: Social Science and Sociological Resources, 174-195.

Issue Area: Public Drunkenness

Citation Type: Analytical, Program Description

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary, external, formal

Abstract: A major problem in ameliorating the situation of skid-row drunks is the deviant or low status assigned to them by agencies, such as police, that are supposed to treat them. Most police departments operate under the "revolving door" routine of repeated token criminal prosecution and short-term jailing. The police function should be defined and limited to channeling the public inebriate to the proper therapeutic facility for medical attention and social rehabilitation. The first detoxification center was opened in St. Louis in 1966. Sponsored by the St. Louis Police Department, it receives referrals from police. A study of the center concluded that past stereotyping of inebriates was not worth the resource expenditure.

Hypotheses:

- Laws against public drunkenness primarily affect lower class persons. (5)
- Police conception of skid-row leads them to make unnecessary arrests. (4)
- Police use the arrest as a means of resolving problems rather than solving crimes. (11)
- The police function should be to refer drunks to treatment centers. (1)

Original Statistical Data:

A 3-month study of 187 patients at the St. Louis center showed that drinking patterns were improved in 51 percent of the cases; an improved employment situation was found in 25 percent; and 56 percent reported that their health had improved.

Pizzuto, Carmen Santa (1967) "The Police Juvenile Unit: A Study in Role Consensus." Ph.D. Dissertation. Waltham, Massachusetts: Brandeis University.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: None

Abstract: In case studies of Massachusetts police departments serving populations between 50,000 and 100,000 the authors found considerable agreement among police officers and chiefs as to the proper role expectations of the juvenile unit. But officer performance of agreed-upon duties did not always conform to the proper role model as defined by departmental administrators.

Hypotheses:

- Informal probation for juveniles is approved by both police juvenile officers and administrators. (1)
- Police juvenile officers and administrators agree that juvenile officers should assist in developing policy for dealing with juveniles. (1)
- Both police juvenile officers and administrators agree that police should provide delinquency prevention programs. (1)
- Both police juvenile officers and administrators agree that police should provide counseling to juvenile offenders and their families. (1)
- Police policies and operations often are dissimilar. (1, 2)

Original Statistical Data:

There was agreement between 80 percent of juvenile officers and administrators about 14 questionnaire items dealing with proper officer role behavior.

President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) Challenge of Crime in a Free Society. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

**Issue Area**: Police Social Service Provision

**Citation Type**: Descriptive

**Referral Characteristics**: None

**Abstract**: (This abstract discusses only those pages of the Commission Report relevant to police social service provision.) The Report lists several arguments against the police service function: service duties waste time of people trained to fight crime; officers on service calls are not available for emergency duty; routine performance of trivial duties discourages able police candidates; and performing service tasks dulls crime-fighting skills. Arguments in favor of the police service function include deterrence of crime while answering service calls; stimulating public esteem for police; and the psychological benefits accruing to officers placed in helping roles.

**Hypotheses**:

- Full-time social service duties for police officers are a waste of the time and skills of trained officers. (2, 4, 11)
- Service duties actually deter crime. (2, 6, 11)
- Service duties take police officers away from crime deterrence activities. (2, 11)
- Service duties put police out of reach during emergencies. (2)
- Service work discourages some police officers and drives others to leave the department. (4)
- Service tasks stimulate public esteem of the police. (6)
- Service work familiarizes police officers with the communities they serve and provides the police with leads. (2, 4, 6, 11)

**Original Statistical Data**: None

Rubington, Earl (1975) "Top and Bottom: How Police Administrators and Public Inebriates View Decriminalization." *Journal of Drug Issues*, Vol. 3, 412-425.

**Issue Area:** Public Drunkeness

**Citation Type:** Descriptive

**Referral Characteristics:** Voluntary, external

**Abstract:** This article compares the reactions of police administrators and public inebriates to the decriminalization of public intoxication. Of the nine administrators interviewed, four felt that decriminalization was not working. All felt that there were not enough detoxification facilities, but that inebriates preferred the new system of treatment. Of 21 referred inebriates interviewed, 15 favored decriminalization while 2 opposed it. Nine felt that the new laws were working, while 10 felt they were not working, or made no difference. Sixteen felt that police had changed their methods of handling public inebriates and that most police and treatment personnel favored the new system.

**Hypotheses:**

- Decriminalization of alcoholism will not be successful unless there are sufficient treatment centers to handle inebriates. (3)
- Police officers will oppose laws that make them feel more like social workers and less like crime fighters. (4)

**Original Statistical Data:**

Results of the questionnaire administered to police officials and public inebriates are reported and summarized in the above abstract.

Rutherford, Andrew and Robert McDermott (1976) National Evaluation Program: Phase I Summary Report: Juvenile Diversion. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Analytical, evaluative

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary, external, offender referral

Abstract: This article summarizes and evaluates national efforts to divert juveniles from the criminal justice system. Diversion is defined as the termination of official processing or referral to a program outside the juvenile justice system. It occurs after the juvenile's initial contact with an agent of the system and prior to formal adjudication. The goals of diversion are to reduce the stigma associated with the criminal justice system, a reduction in court case load, the provision of faster service, reduction in crime rates, and the need to help juveniles in need. Diversion programs are characterized as legal, paralegal, and nonlegal.

Hypotheses:

- Juvenile diversion will reduce court case load. (10)
- Juvenile diversion will reduce stigmatization. (11)
- Juvenile diversion will result in better and faster service provision. (11)
- Juvenile diversion will increase administrative efficiency of police departments and other justice system agents. (10)

Original Statistical Data: None

Sandler, Georgette Bennett (1975) "Structuring Police Organizations to Promote Crisis Management Programs." A paper presented at the Symposium on Crisis Management in Law Enforcement, National Conference of Christians and Jews and California Association of Police Trainers, held in Berkeley, California, November 6. Mimeo.

Issue Area: Domestic Crisis

Citation Type: Analytical, hypothetical

Referral Characteristics: None

Abstract: This paper presents a detailed description of police department organization. It discusses the philosophical and behavioral goals and implications of crisis management programs, analyzing potential areas of police departmental resistance to change. Necessary organizational supports for implementing crisis management programs are noted, and the goals and methods of the full-service model are presented.

Hypotheses:

- Police department organization along military lines is antithetical to provision of crisis intervention services. (2)
- Police training in social service provision is poor. (1, 4)
- Police crisis intervention improves service delivery. (11)

Original Statistical Data: None

**Sandler, Georgette Bennett and Robert J. di Grazia (1976) "From Police Force to Police Service: The Management of Change in Large Urban Police Departments." Draft. Mimeo.**

Issue Areas: Police Social Service Provision

Citation Type: Hypothetical

Referral Characteristics: None

Abstract: This paper gives a detailed description of the efforts of the New York City Police Department and the Boston Police Department to implement the full-service model. Of primary importance to its implementation is the political climate and the stability of political leadership. The paper discusses the elements and atmosphere surrounding philosophical change in police agencies. The transition from police force to police service requires a recognition of the total police role and a renewed push toward professionalism. The full-service model incorporates four departmental orientations: professional, community relations, human relations, and law enforcement. It is intended to reduce officer role conflict by producing a consistent set of expectations.

Hypotheses:

- Peer influence is more important in determining officer attitudes than is formal training. (1, 4)

Original Statistical Data: None

**Shannon, Lyle W. (1963) "Types and Patterns of Delinquency Referral in a Middle-Sized City." British Journal of Delinquency, Vol. 24, 24-36.**

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, external, formal, offender referral

Abstract: Referral of 1,818 juvenile offenders to probation departments was studied from 1950-1955. When the proportion of police contacts referred was compared by school district and city region, the SES of juveniles appeared negatively related to the likelihood of referral. The number of referrals differed by region. But when type of offense was held constant, differences from region to region were not significant. There was no evidence of an increase in the likelihood that a juvenile committing a serious offense would be referred.

Hypotheses:

- Referral is negatively related to SES. (5)
- The majority of police-juvenile contacts do not result in referral. (1)
- The percentage of police-juvenile contacts referred varies significantly between areas of a city. (6)
- Holding seriousness of delinquent acts constant, there will be no significant relationships between the number of referrals and region of the city. (6)

Original Statistical Data:

Data includes: type of disposition (referral release or contact) by year; number of delinquent acts resulting in police contact and referral by year, city zone, and reason for referral; type of delinquent act resulting in police contact and referral by reason for referral and year.

**Sorensen, James Leslie (1974) "The Effect of a Juvenile Referral System on Prevention of Recidivism with Early Offenders." Ph.D. Dissertation. Rochester, New York: University of Rochester.**

**Issue Area:** Juveniles

**Citation Type:** Analytical

**Referral Characteristics:** External, formal, offender referral

**Abstract:** This comparative study of referrals to the Monroe County (NY) Youth Service System and the courts attempted to determine if YSS referral reduced recidivism. The data indicated YSS referral prevented some recidivism; however, differences between groups that were referred to the YSS indicated that first offenders may have been labeled as delinquents and that referral services may have increased their delinquent behavior.

**Hypotheses:**

- Referral may stigmatize first offenders. (5)
- Referral has no relationship to recidivism among repeat offenders. (11)
- Informal police handling of cases is negatively related to recidivism. (11)

**Original Statistical Data:**

Tables are presented comparing characteristics of the study group and the control group such as age, sex, offense type, arrest status, petition status, number of police contacts, petitions adjusted at intact, and recidivism rates by race and number of offenses.

Stratton, J. G. (1975) "Effects of Crisis Intervention Counseling on Predelinquent and Misdemeanor Juvenile Offenders." *Juvenile Justice*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (November), 7-18.

**Issue Area:** Juveniles

**Citation Type:** Analytical

**Referral Characteristics:** Involuntary, internal, formal, offender referral

**Abstract:** Status offenders and first-offense misdemeanor offenders in San Fernando, California, were assigned randomly to one of two groups. The first received crisis intervention counseling, the second received normal processing. Counseling sessions included family counseling and follow-up. The study found that juveniles receiving traditional handling had a higher rate of recidivism, but there was no significant trend in the types of crimes committed. Analysis also suggested that traditional handling of juveniles requires more probation services than does the counseling process.

**Hypotheses:**

- Referred individuals regard the police as the ultimate authority for handling their problems. (5)
- Immediate police crisis counseling reduces recidivism. (11)
- Police crisis counseling is less expensive than traditional processing. (11)

**Original Statistical Data:**

Tables show rearrest offense rates by seriousness of offense for juveniles handled by both the traditional approach and the police crisis intervention approach; calculated Z-scores assessing differences in rearrest rates among the two groups; chi square values for rearrest by number of offenses; Z-values for differences in the proportion of probation services received by juvenile offenders under both approaches; Z-values and chi square values for proportion of juvenile offenders detained under each approach; and calculated court and probation department costs for juvenile offenders handled by each approach.

Sundeen, Richard A., Jr. (1974a) "A Four-Dimensional Perspective on Police Typologies." Criminology, Vol. 12, No. 3 (November), 328-337.

**Issue Area**: Juveniles

**Citation Type**: Analytical

**Referral Characteristics**: Voluntary, external

**Abstract**: Using factor analysis, 10 variables previously thought to be bipolar were ordered into four theoretical dimesions concerning orientations of police juvenile bureaus: juvenile specialist, community service, local, and organizational orientations. Juvenile bureaus characterized by these orientations take either legalistic, personalized treatment, or community involvement approaches to handling juveniles. Diversion refers to the return of the offender by the police to community (the family or a referral agency) rather than referral to an official sanctioning agency (the probation department or juvenile court). Specialist and service-type departments are less likely to divert than other types.

**Hypotheses**:

- The greater the training and the more professional the juvenile bureau, the less likely they will be to refer juveniles. (1, 4)
- Likelihood of juvenile referral may be a function of a particular kind of police professionalism, one that combines community relations activities with training. (1, 4)
- Professional departments tend to be more legalistic than other types of departments and consequently are less likely to refer. (1, 4)

**Original Statistical Data**:

The article presents simple coorelations among professionalization and community attachment indicators, factor scores of professionalization indicators, and correlations between types of diversion and four departmental orientations.

**Sundeen**, Richard A., Jr. (1974b) "Police Professionalism and Community Attachments and Diversion of Juveniles." Criminology, Vol. 11, No. 4 (February), 570-580.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, internal, formal, offender referral

Abstract: In a study of the juvenile bureaus of 43 Los Angeles County police departments, professionalism and community attachment of police juvenile officers was related to the rates at which they counseled and released juveniles. The level of bureaucratic control was held constant. The study found few significant relationships between diversion and either police professionalism and community attachment. Zero-order correlations were small and not all were in the hypothesized directions.

Hypotheses:

- Police professionalism is negatively related to the likelihood of referral. (4)
- The community attachment of police officers is positively related to the likelihood of referral. (4)

Original Statistical Data:

Two tables were presented showing the zero-order correlation coefficients between five indicators of police professionalization, five indicators of officers' community attachment, and departmental counsel and release rates.

Terry, Robert M. (1970) "Discrimination in the Handling of Juvenile Offenders by Social Control Agencies." In Peter G. Garabedian and Don C. Gibbons, eds. Becoming Delinquent: Young Offenders and the Correctional System. Chicago, Illinois: Aldine-Atherton, Inc., 78-92.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, external and internal, formal and informal, offender referral

Abstract: Terry studied dispositions of juvenile cases in a heavily industrialized midwestern city of less than 100,000 population. He concluded that the severity of case disposition by police is not a function of offenders' socioeconomic status, sex, or race. Controls for number and seriousness of previous offenses were instituted, but were not applied to the same analysis simultaneously.

Hypotheses:

- Females are more likely than males to be referred to social service agencies. (5)
- The more serious the case, the more likely police will send an offender to court and the less likely they will be to refer him to a social agency. (7)
- Cases of incorrigibility and sex offenses are more likely to be referred than other types of cases are. (5, 7)

Original Statistical Data:

Terry reports percentages to show the relationships between independent variables (sex, race, and socioeconomic status) and the severity of police case disposition. Females are more likely than males to be referred to social or welfare agencies (7.4 percent to 0.8 percent); Whites are more likely to be referred (2.1 percent) than either Mexican-Americans (1.4 percent) or Blacks (1.7 percent); and persons of lower socioeconomic status are more likely to be referred (2.2 percent) than are persons of either middle- (1.9 percent) or upper- (0.8 percent) classes. Percentages are very low, no sample sizes are reported, and measures of association (tau) are insignificant.

Thomas, Charles W. and Christopher M. Sieverdes (1975) "Juvenile Court Intake: An Analysis of Discretionary Decision-Making." Criminology, Vol. 12, No. 4, 413-432.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: None

Abstract: The decision to send a juvenile to family court is affected by the race, sex, and family situation of the juvenile involved; by the existence of codefendents; by the seriousness of the offense; and prior record. The seriousness of the most recent offense was found to be the best predictor of case disposition.

Hypotheses:

- Blacks are more likely than Whites to be referred to court. (5)
- Older juveniles are more likely than younger ones to be referred to court. (5)
- Juveniles from unstable families are more likely to be referred to court. (5)
- Juveniles who had codefendents are more likely to be referred to court. (7)
- Seriousness of the offense is positively related to likelihood of court referral. (7)
- Number of prior offenses is positively related to likelihood of court referral. (7)

Original Statistical Data:

Correlation analysis shows the relationships between referral to court and characteristics of juvenile offenders. Seriousness of the offense is the best predictor of the disposition of a case at the zero-order correlation level.

Thornberry, Terence P. (1973) "Race, Socio-Economic Status and Sentencing in the Juvenile Justice System." Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, Vol. 64, No. 1 (March), 90-97.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, external, informal, offender referral

Abstract: This article examines the influence of race and SES on the disposition of 9,601 male juvenile delinquents born in Philadelphia in 1945. Dispositions were classified into four types: remedial arrest (juvenile taken to police station, but released to parents; case not forwarded to another legal agency); adjustment (case is dismissed at the juvenile court level); probation; and institutionalization. The author concluded that race and SES are related to case disposition, even when seriousness of offense and number of previous offenses are controlled.

Hypotheses:

- Race is related to case disposition regardless of the seriousness of the case or the number of previous contacts between the juvenile and the police. (5, 7)
- SES is related to case disposition regardless of the seriousness of the case or the number of previous contacts between the juvenile and the police. (5, 7)
- Seriousness of a case is related to type of case disposition. (7)
- Number of previous contacts between a juvenile and the police is related to disposition of the case. (7)

Original Statistical Data:

Tables are presented showing case disposition by race; seriousness of offense, number of previous offenses, and number of previous offenses, by race; seriousness of offense, and number of previous offenses, by race; and seriousness of offense, and number of previous offenses, by SES.

Treger, Harvey (1972a) "Breakthrough in Preventive Corrections: A Police-Social Work Team Model." Federal Probation, Vol. 36, No 4 (December), 53-58.

Issue Area: Police Social Service Provision, Domestic Crisis

Citation Type: Hypothetical

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary, internal and external, informal

Abstract: Treger proposes a model placing a social service unit within the police department. The unit would provide four basic services: social assessments to the department and the client; 24-hour crisis intervention services; short- and long-term individual counseling and marital and group counseling; and referral to community agencies. The main objectives are to provide an immediate service to clients in need of help, a service more suitable than court disposition. This, in turn, would help alleviate the court overload problem and improve police-community relations. The need for improvements in relations between police and social agencies is highlighted.

Hypotheses:

- Police crisis intervention increases the chances of providing more effective treatment to citizens. (11)
- Social agencies must reorient their services to make them more available to police and citizens who need them. (3)

Original Statistical Data: None

Vorenberg, Elizabeth and James Vorenberg (1973) "Early Diversion from the Criminal Justice System: Practice in Search of a Theory." In Lloyd E. Ohlin, ed. Prisoners in America. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 151-183.

Issue Area: Public Drunkenness, Juveniles

Citation Type: Hypothetical, Analytical

Referral Characteristics: Voluntary, external, offender referral

Abstract: This article defines diversion as any disposition short of a full prison term. Referral means that there is a recognition that some categories of offenders are special candidates for removal from the criminal justice system, and that new counseling and treatment (besides the police and courts) must be found to accommodate them. The authors discuss several diversion projects, including those run by the New York City Police Department, the Brockton (MA) Youth Resources Bureau, the Sacramento (CA) 601 juvenile diversion project, and Vera Institute's Manhattan Bowery Project. The authors note that there has been a striking lack of evaluation of most diversion projects.

Hypotheses:

- Referral projects are more effective than traditional means of case disposition. (11)

Original Statistical Data: None

Wilbanks, William Lee (1975) The Insertion/Diversion Decision at the Juvenile Police Level. Ph.D. Dissertation. Albany, New York: State University of New York.

Issue Area: Juveniles

Citation Type: Analytical

Referral Characteristics: Involuntary, external, formal, offender referral

Abstract: Thirteen municipal police departments participated in this study of the effects of juvenile officers' perceptions of departmental policy on case dispositions. The data indicated that dispositions varied markedly by department and by officers within the departments; differences between departments could not be accounted for by officer perceptions. Wilbanks found that departmental policy affected case disposition to a much lesser extent than he had originally hypothesized.

Hypotheses:

- Departments differ significantly with respect to insertion and referral rates. (1)
- Departments whose officers perceive relatively few policy or structure guidelines will disagree more on case decisions than will departments whose officers perceive more policy guidelines or structure. (1, 4)
- Departmental policy strongly affects the likelihood of referral. (1)
- Referrals are usually made by officers assigned to specialized units. (2)

Original Statistical Data:

Data includes percentages of officers responding in specified ways to questionnaire items; correlation analysis of effect of indicators of departmental referral policy on case dispositions; and effect of officer attitudes on tabulated departmental referral scores.

Wilson, James Q. (1968a) "The Police and the Delinquent in Two Cities." In Stanton Wheeler, ed. Controlling Delinquents. New York, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 9-30.

**Issue Area:** Juveniles

**Citation Type:** Analytical

**Referral Characteristics:** Voluntary, external, formal and informal, offender referral

**Abstract:** Police department handling of juveniles in two cities was examined in terms of case disposition and departmental professionalism. Officers in more professional departments were more likely to officially dispose of juvenile cases; they took actions that often resulted in the juvenile's eventual appearance in court. Officers in the more professional department are also more likely to have official contacts with juveniles.

**Hypotheses:**

- Unofficial action by the police officer in the field is more likely if the department is small. (2)
- Unofficial action by the police officer in the field is more likely if the cost of the officers making an arrest is high. (10)
- Unofficial action by the police officer in the field is more likely if officer empathy is high. (4)
- Unofficial action by the police officer in the field is more likely if community SES is high. (6)
- Unofficial action by the police officer in the field is more likely if the department is fraternal rather than professional. (1, 2)
- Unofficial action by the police officer in the field is more likely if the department's organization is decentralized. (2)

**Original Statistical Data:**

Tables are presented showing the proportion of suspected juvenile offenders arrested or cited, by race; proportion of juveniles taken to court, by race; number and rate of juveniles processed; city and crime rates per 100,000 population for juveniles.

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